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Oxford, its place in national
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EAST BRANCH



OXFORD FROM THE NORTH

OXFORD
*ITS PLACE IN NATIONAL
HISTORY*

By

SIR JOHN A. R. MARRIOTT

*Honorary Fellow (formerly Fellow) of
Worcester College, Oxford; sometime
M.P. for the City of Oxford*

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PREFACE

FEW cities in the world, none in England, have been so much written about as Oxford; but, so far as I am aware, there exists no book that approaches the subject from the angle here selected. This little book is not a history of the City of Oxford nor of the University. It seeks to put Oxford against the background of English history, and to show, by a series of sketches, what Oxford has contributed to the history of the English people. It has been written, let me frankly confess, in the spirit not of a critic, but of a lover; it represents only a trifling instalment of the debt which its author owes to Oxford. For a great part of my life Oxford was my home; for nearly forty years I served the University in various capacities; for a space it was my privilege and pride to represent the City in the Commons House of Parliament.

The book is primarily offered, then, to those who were once my constituents, and those who were for a time my pupils. I trust, however, that it may appeal not only to the sons and citizens of Oxford. Oxford is part of the rich heritage of England; indeed of the whole English-speaking world. How much poorer would that world have been to-day had the Mendicant Friars not found a home there, had Oxford not nurtured Roger Bacon and William of Wykeham, John Wyclif and John Colet, Hooker and Laud, Bishop Butler and Adam Smith, John Wesley and John Keble, Chatham and Canning, Peel, Gladstone, and Cecil Rhodes?

In writing this sketch, slight as it is, I have incurred many obligations. Those which I owe to published sources are, I trust, sufficiently indicated in Appendix B. I am indebted to several officials of the Clarendon Press for much appreciated help in procuring and selecting the illustrations, and to an old friend, the present (1932) Archbishop of Canterbury, for permission to reproduce the Lambeth portrait of Archbishop Laud. Of the period 1882-1922 I have written from personal knowledge, but for the events of the last decade, numerous and important, I have had to rely on the help of friends and in particular of Mr. P. E. Matheson of New College, to whom my best thanks are due. Mr. A. B. Emden, Principal of St. Edmund Hall, has most kindly read the book in proof, and besides correcting many small errors has made a number of valuable suggestions, most of which I have embodied in Appendix A. A book intended for the general reader ought not, in my judgement, to be burdened with foot-notes, but should this little volume fall into the hands of any expert critics I must ask them to consult the notes in Appendix A before convicting me of carelessness. Whatever of erudition those notes suggest must, however, be attributed to the fine scholarship of Mr. Emden to whom I tender my grateful thanks.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

21 November 1932.

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I

INTRODUCTORY

THE PLACE OF OXFORD IN ENGLISH HISTORY

He that hath Oxford seen, for beauty, grace,
And healthiness, ne'er saw a better place,
If God himself on earth abode would make,
He Oxford sure would for His dwelling take.

xvth Century.

AMONG the historic towns of England, Oxford holds a unique place. Other towns are in particular aspects more important; other towns have played, in this age or in that, a more conspicuous part in national history; some towns are older and many are bigger. York, for example, and Chester, Lincoln, and Bath, were proud cities when the site of Oxford was a swamp, the happy hunting-ground of wolves ('Wolvercote') [1] and boars (Boars' Hill). Canterbury, endowed with incomparable sanctity, has a place in the spiritual life of England to which no other town can pretend. Winchester and Gloucester, Norwich and Bristol, Plymouth and Southampton, Manchester and Birmingham—each of these has its own significance, political, military, or economic; each represents an important phase in the evolution of the English nation. But Oxford's position is none the less unchallenged and apart. Incomparable in beauty, unique in the affection she inspires in her sons and daughters, Oxford is, for another reason, remarkable. No other town presents, in the same degree,

an epitome of the story of England, no other town affords in the same sense a microcosm of English history, no other town (London, of course, always excepted) links age to age so faithfully, or tells so eloquently the tale of the unbroken continuity of our political, social, and religious life. There is indeed no great period of English history—at least since Roman days—which does not find visible and notable illustration in the Oxford of to-day.

To the world Oxford stands primarily as a great seat of learning, one of the most famous on earth. But we who know her more intimately are aware that for some centuries before there was in Oxford a University, before even there were schools of repute, Oxford was an important town. The reasons which led people to congregate on this site will be discussed in the next chapter. It must suffice for the moment to note the fact that from the eighth century onwards people were attracted to Oxford as to a holy place, the shrine of a Saint whose fame is more than legendary. Early in the tenth century its strategic importance was recognized by a great English king, and a fortress was built there to guard the frontier between Wessex and Mercia. In the Danish raids of the tenth and eleventh centuries Oxford was unhappily, but inevitably, prominent. Before the latter century closed the Norman Conqueror sent hither a trusted vassal to make this important place secure by building the castle which still stands. A noble abbey [2] and a famous priory had already conferred dignity on the city when Henry I decided to build, just outside

the North Gate, the royal palace of Beaumont. Early in the twelfth century teachers and scholars began to flock to Oxford. Before the end of the twelfth century Oxford had definitely become the seat of a university.

The University had been in existence for nearly a century before the foundation of Merton College inaugurated a movement which was destined not only to give its distinctive character to the University, but to change the whole system of Higher Education in this country.

The collegiate movement was the first of a long series of 'movements', which Oxford nurtured, which profoundly influenced the English people, and, as time went on, the whole English-speaking world.

Of these movements the first was connected with the great names of St. Dominic and St. Francis. The Dominicans or Black Friars established themselves here in 1221; the Grey Friars three years later.

The great religious movement of the fourteenth century was initiated by John Wyclif, who for twenty years was one of the most active and influential teachers of Theology in Oxford. The connexion of Oxford with the Lollard movement, and the means taken to counteract the dangerous tendencies in the teaching of its leader, will form the subject of Chapter VI.

An even greater movement was that which emanated from Oxford in the latter years of the fifteenth and first years of the sixteenth century. Oxford was the English centre of the revival of humanistic learning, and of that reform in the teaching of Theology and of Biblical

Exegesis which formed the prelude to the Theological Reformation of the sixteenth century. In the 'political' Reformation carried through by the Tudor sovereigns and their Parliaments, Oxford had no initiatory part, though it was the scene of one of the most tragic incidents in that great drama. But in the ultimate settlement of the great ecclesiastical controversy, Oxford, through its great Chancellor, William Laud, played the foremost part. Laud was the real author of the compromise in which England, rejecting the extremes alike of Rome and Geneva, characteristically found refuge.

The seventeenth century is perhaps the period in which Oxford stood nearest to the heart of national affairs. For nearly four years it was the capital of Royalist England, the home of the Court, the centre of administration, and the strategical head-quarters of the Cavaliers. Apart from the years of the Civil War, Oxford served throughout the century as a relief capital to London, when sickness raged in the latter city, or when the Stuart kings were anxious to try the effect of an enervating climate upon hot-headed politicians.

To the Hanoverians, Oxford was suspect as the 'home of lost causes and impossible loyalties'. The heart of the Hanoverian kings naturally turned to Cambridge, the nursery of the Whigs, though it was from Oxford teachers, notably from John Locke, that the Whigs derived their political gospel.

Yet the eighteenth century was far from being an inglorious period in the history of Oxford. No religious movement has had a greater influence upon the Christian

world than that associated with the immortal name of John Wesley. Of this 'Methodist' revival Oxford was the home.

But the eternal catholicity of Oxford is demonstrated by the fact that a century later it was the centre of that great movement which is, with accuracy though with unhistorical emphasis, distinguished as '*The Oxford Movement*'. The impulse given to England by the Tractarian Movement was by no means limited to the domain of Theology and religion. On the contrary it stimulated, as Chapter XII will disclose, activity in many different directions. Not even in the eighteenth century was Oxford wrapped in such profound slumber as many superficial and splenetic observers supposed. But undoubtedly it was much wider awake in the nineteenth century, when its sons were responsible for the leadership not of one great movement, but of several. The Tractarian Movement set rolling more than one ball: or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it was itself only one manifestation of an actively operating spirit. Be that as it may, the days of the Tractarian Movement coincided with that Reform Era which gave to the nineteenth century its distinguishing characteristic.

For close upon a thousand years, then, Oxford has made history for England and for the new English-speaking nations which have arisen in distant lands. It has not been exclusively or mainly 'the home of lost causes and forsaken beliefs', or 'unpopular names' or 'impossible loyalties'. The great men whose names will

be recorded in the pages that follow may have endured ephemeral unpopularity but they have evoked the loyal affection of great multitudes, they have earned the eternal gratitude of mankind.

Throughout the ages Oxford has stood for causes which can never be lost while men seek wisdom and follow righteousness; she has stood for beliefs which are Catholic because rooted in the conscience of man, for undying loyalty to the causes most worthy to evoke it, for the freedom of the spirit and the supremacy of truth.

II

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CITY

WITH becoming and characteristic modesty Oxford waited until the year 1912 to celebrate its millenary. Perhaps a University which boasts a great School of History could hardly counsel the city to do otherwise. The *documentary* history of Oxford undoubtedly begins with the year 912. But it is certain that Oxford was a place of considerable importance before the tenth century, and it will be my first serious business to inquire how it came to be so.

History does not begin with documents. We must, of course, dismiss as pure myth the long-prevalent stories of an Oxford contemporary with the Jewish Judges, the stories which tell how one Mempric, King of the Britons, a thousand years before Christ, 'built a noble city and called it after his own name Caer-Mempric, but afterwards it was called Bellesite [an obvious reference to the Palace of Beaumont] and then . . . and then . . . and last of all by the Saxons, Oxenford'.

To the same category of myth we must relegate the stories of the two famous schools 'abounding as well with erudition as eloquence situated on the banks of the Isis, one of them commonly called Greek-lade [Cricklade] because certain men professed the Greek tongue there, and . . . the other from the masters of the Latin tongue Latine-lade [Lechlade] . . . and afterwards the glory of both schools was translated to Bellosite, which they now call Oxford'.

St. Frideswide was much more than a myth; she was an historic personage whose name is on the roll of authentic Saints. Moreover, the nunnery which she is said to have founded is still embodied in the noble foundation of Christ Church.

A Daughter of Kings we here behold,
Whose glory clings like a robe of gold
And the gifts that she brings are manifold.

(L. Housman.)

That is not merely the licence of the poet, the gift of St. Frideswide to the city is manifest. I know not how much of credence is to be given to the familiar story which tells that Frideswide was a daughter of Didamas 'formerly King of Oxford who reigned there about the year of our Lord's Incarnation' (Osney Cartulary), that she was wooed too ardently by Algar, Earl or King of Leicester; that she took refuge with her maidens in a pigsty at Binsey; that Algar seeking to follow her was struck with blindness; that in answer to Frideswide's prayers his sight was restored and that the maiden, in thankfulness for her escape, founded a nunnery, on or near the spot where the Cathedral Church stands to-day, and died there hallowed as a virgin Saint. Even Dr. Rashdall, least credulous of critics, finds in the story a 'germ of historical fact', and whatever the precise truth of the matter St. Frideswide's shrine at Christ Church must always possess the most sacred and hallowed associations for every loyal son of Oxford; for there is the protoplasm of our spiritual, and in a sense, of our civic life.

By the eighth century, then, the site of Oxford was already inhabited. What had led people to congregate there?

The Romans had ostentatiously avoided Oxford. At no point of their parallel progress are their great trunk roads, Akeman Street and Ermine Street, which join at Cirencester, so far apart as in their wide sweep round Oxford. There is indeed a Roman by-road which runs some six miles to the east of Oxford, from Dorchester by Beckley and across Otmoor to Alchester and Bicester, beyond which it joins Akeman Street; but the swamps of Oxford itself were studiously avoided by the Romans.

The authentic history of Oxford dates from the advent of the Saxons. Dorchester-on-Thames, close to the Roman station of Sinodun (locally known as 'Wittenham Clump'), and a familiar landmark, was conquered by the West Saxons about the year 560. There they established their first bishopric (635), by which time there was, beyond doubt, something of a settlement on the present site of Oxford.

The origin of English towns may, as a rule, be ascribed to one of four reasons: geographical, ecclesiastical, economic, or strategic; sometimes to several of these reasons in combination.

Towns grew up at a river ford, round a shrine or monastery, near a convenient market, or under the protection of a camp or fortress. In the case of Oxford all four reasons combined to attract people to this favoured spot.

The Beginnings of the City

There is, in the first place, a great deal of history, or at any rate of geography and geology, in its name. Oxford, it has been said, is almost as much the creation of the Thames as Egypt is the creation of the Nile. At any rate, Oxford stands on a narrow peninsula, with streams to the east, south, and west. This fact afforded to the earliest settlers a large measure of security. If geography dictated the choice of the site, geology confirmed it. The name of the city attests its geological origin. As to the latter half of it there is no dispute; as to the first there is. Some derive it from the little stream near Abingdon—the *Ock*—a prefix akin to Usk, Esk, Ouse (all meaning water, and also whisky); but for this derivation there is neither warrant nor reason. Undoubtedly the true explanation of the name is that which finds expression in the City arms, showing oxen crossing a ford.

Occupying a central position in the very heart of England, Oxford first comes into view as a border town on the confines of Mercia and Wessex, a station on the trunk lines of communication. It guards not only the great highway of the Thames, but two main roads—the one running north and south, the other east and west. The roads intersect at Carfax (*Quadrifurcus*). Nor was the meeting of the highways fortuitous. Between Binsey and Grandpont (Folly Bridge) the stream of the Thames flows over a firm bed of gravel, where the drovers and their oxen could ford the stream. Similarly we find a ship (sheep)-ford in Berkshire, and close to Kidlington a ford for geese (Gosford) across the Cherwell. On the

gravel spit rising between Thames and Cherwell modern Oxford is built.

To this initial geographical advantage religious associations were, as we have seen, soon added. Oxford, already famous as a shrine, presently became a fortress.

An entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (912) makes it clear that early in the tenth century Oxford was already looked upon as an important town. 'In the year 912 died Ethelred Ealdorman of the Mercians, and King Edward took to himself Lundenbyrg and Oxna-ford and all the lands that were obedient thereto.' With that entry the documentary history of Oxford begins; from that entry we date its continuous civic life

The Edward here mentioned was 'Edward the Elder', King Alfred's son; 'Ethelred Ealdorman of the Mercians' was his brother-in-law. To their noble father, Alfred, the city of Oxford owes an indisputable debt. Whether the University is under a similar obligation is a question to which we must presently return. This city, pre-eminently English in its origin, never passed into the hands of the Danes. From that cruel fate Alfred saved it. On Alfred's death (in 900) Oxford, with the rest of south-western Mercia, passed to Ethel-flaeda, 'the Lady of the Mercians', who with her husband Ethelred forthwith began the reconquest of the Danelagh, that portion of England which by the Treaty of 'Wedmore' (878) had been secured to the Danes. In 912 the lady lost her husband, whereupon as the Chronicle has told us, King Edward took to himself the town of Oxford, and the lands which owed

obedience to it. Those lands may be roughly identified with the modern county of which Oxford is still the centre and capital. The obedience of the lands implied a reciprocal obligation on the part of the town: the obligation of affording to the inhabitants of the dependant lands protection against the attacks of the Danes.

Oxford, then, was already a fortress, and its strategical importance is attested by its significant association with London. But the passage in the Chronicle implies something further. It means that an important step had been taken towards the political unification of middle England by the West Saxon annexation of the lower Thames Valley—roughly, Oxfordshire and Middlesex. To the same king, Edward the Elder, we owe the great mound—the stockaded *burh*—which for a century guarded the approach to Oxford from the West and formed the nucleus of the later Norman castle. These stockaded mounds or ‘burhs’ are the characteristic feature of the military policy of Edward the Elder [3] and Ethelflaeda. All Mercia north-east of Watling Street was still Danish—secured to the Danes, as we have seen, by the Treaty of Wedmore. South-western Mercia was still subject to their devastating raids, again and again renewed. It was the great work of Edward the Elder to bind Mercia firmly to Wessex, and this he accomplished by constructing a series of fortified mounds at important strategical points. Thus the burh round which Hertford grew up guarded the ford over the Lea; Marlborough guarded the passage of the Kennet; Oxford that of the Thames; Warwick that of the Avon; Tamworth guarded

an important junction not only of rivers (Anker and Thame) but of roads; Stafford—which is counted ‘the most important strategical point of middle Britain’—was fortified in order to block ‘all access to the upper Trent’, while Chester similarly ‘blocked all that passed over the Dee’. Bridgnorth guarded the Severn, and Runcorn the Mersey (J. R. Green). Other burhs there were ‘timbered’ by Edward and Ethelflaeda, but enough has been said to indicate the importance of Oxford as forming a link in the long chain of fortified towns, by which one of the greatest ‘makers of England’ sought to hold back the Danish inroads, and to consolidate middle and western England under his own immediate rule.

Oxford, then, has come into being as a meeting-place of highways—by river and road; as a venerated shrine, and as a frontier fortress, forming an important link in a great strategical chain. The policy of Edward and Ethelflaeda was amply vindicated. Edward himself ruled directly as king over all England south of the Humber and was acknowledged as overlord throughout the island. For nearly three-quarters of a century southern Britain had peace.

During this period of tranquillity Oxford grew and flourished; but in 979 the land passed under the rule of Ethelred the Redeless. At once the Danes resumed their raiding expeditions.

The growing importance of Oxford in a military sense is unpleasantly indicated by the frequency with which, during the century preceding the Norman Conquest, it was attacked by the Danes. Not less than four

times were its wooden houses burnt to the ground, in 979, in 1002, in 1010, and in 1013. In 1002 it was the English who were the aggressors. In that year, so the Chronicle tells us, Ethelred the Redeless, by a sudden access of terror-stricken energy, 'ordered all the Danish men who were in England to be slain on St. Bricius's Day, because the king was informed that they wished to plot against his life and afterwards against the life of all his Witan, and so to have the kingdom easily for themselves'. In Oxford, the Danes fled for refuge to St. Frideswide's minster, and held the tower against the English. Failing to dislodge them, the citizens burnt the Church and its tower to the ground. [4] In 1010 we read that 'the army of the Danes leaving their ships, go to Oxford through the woods of Chiltern, and sack the town and set it on fire', and in 1013 that 'after Swegen came over Watling Street they (the Danes) wrought the most evil than any army could do. He then went to Oxford and the townspeople immediately submitted and gave hostages; and thence to Winchester and they did the same.'

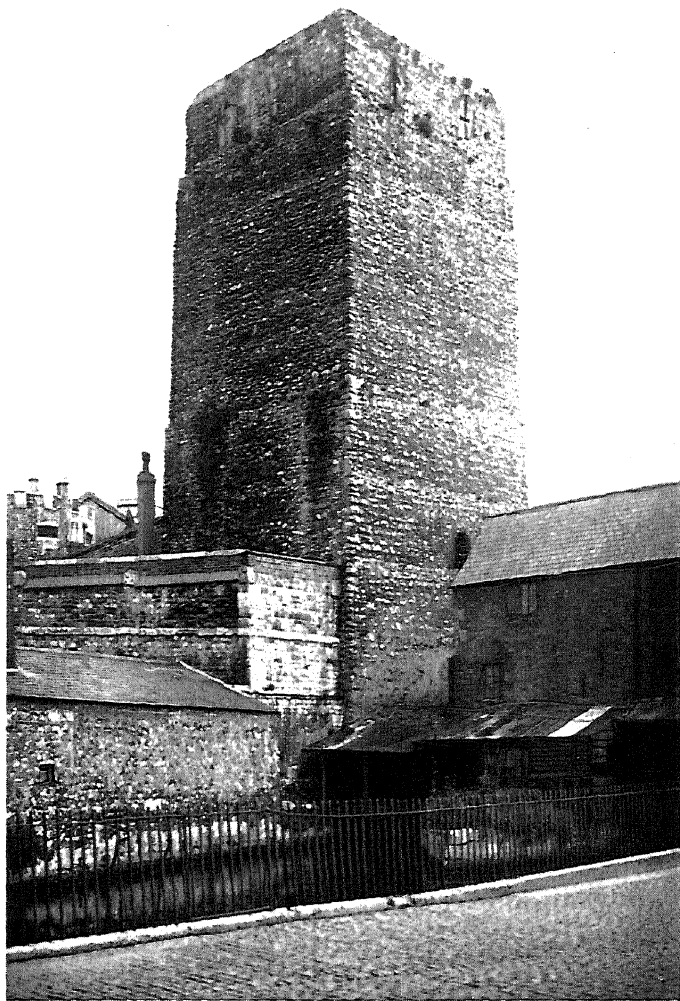
But the central and commanding situation of the town not only afforded irresistible temptations to the Danish invaders; it suggested its appropriateness as a *locale* for important political gatherings. No fewer than four great Gemôts, or national councils, were held here in the eleventh century. Oxford was the scene of the Gemôt held in 1015, after the restoration of King Ethelred, when the great Mercian Earl Edric traitorously slew Sigeferth and Morkere, the thanes of the seven

Danish boroughs. Three years later (1018) there was an historic gathering at Oxford called to witness the reconciliation of English and Dane under Cnut, and from Oxford Cnut put out his famous proclamation confirming the laws of Edgar, and declaring that he would govern England as an English king. Here again was the meeting in 1035 called to decide the question of the succession to the kingdom on Cnut's death. Soon after Cnut's death (at Shaftesbury, 12 Nov. 1035) there was 'a meeting of all the wise men at Oxford; and Earl Leofric and almost all the thanes north of Thames and the sailors of London chose Harold to the government of all England, him and his brother Harthacnut, who was in Denmark. And Earl Godwine and all the chief men of Wessex were against it as long as they could, but they could not prevail against it'. Thus did Mercia prevail against Wessex. It was fitting, therefore, that the coronation of Harold Harefoot should take place at Oxford. At Oxford, too, King Harold died.

The preparatory period of English history was by this time drawing near to its inglorious end. Before it actually ended Oxford was once more the scene of an historic gathering. At Oxford was held the great Gemôt of 1065 just before the death of Edward the Confessor—himself an Oxfordshire man¹—where Wessex again, and for the last time, surrendered to the claims of Mercia and its earls. Twelve months later, William the Norman landed at Pevensey, and a new period in English history had begun.

¹ Born at Islip.

Whether the Conqueror himself ever came to Oxford is doubtful, but it is certain that Oxford offered no resistance to the Norman advance. Oxford was indeed at that time a scene of desolation, and by the time (1086) the Domesday Survey was completed the town presented a pitiable picture. It then occupied a site of about 127 acres, and contained a population of some 2,000 souls, eight churches, and more than 1,000 houses; of these houses 721 were 'geldable'—or liable to rates—while the remaining 300 were exempt from rates on condition that their owners shared in the duty of keeping the city walls in repair. Domesday reveals the extent of the desolation which prevailed, for out of the 721 geldable houses no fewer than 478 were in ruins, so that 'Oxford paid for toll and gable and all other customs yearly—to the King twenty pounds and six measures of honey, and to Earl Algar ten pounds besides his mill'. But it could already boast eight churches. How, when, and by whom Oxford was reduced to ruins there is not sufficient evidence to show: perhaps by the Northumbrians in 1065, less probably by the Normans. William the Conqueror committed Oxford to the keeping of one of his barons, Robert D'Oily, whom he married to one of the daughters and heiresses of Wiggod of Wallingford. D'Oily soon got to work, and not a little of the work carried out by him and Robert D'Oily the Younger survives to this day. The building of the Castle was begun in 1071, and three years later that of the Church of St. George within the Castle. Hythe Bridge, the oldest of Oxford bridges, we owe to them; as well as the



OXFORD CASTLE

tower of St. Michael's, the doorway of St. Ebbe's, the chancel arch of St. Cross, Holywell, and the crypt and chancel of St. Peter's in the East. True it is that for the monuments of D'Oily—the Norman rulers of Oxford—you have only to look around.

But Oxford was not merely a fortress and an important market town: it and its adjacent manors, Holywell and Binsey, were the centre of an agricultural community. Another entry in Domesday reminds us of the fact. 'All burgesses of Oxford hold in common a pasture without the wall which brings in 6s. 8d.' That great meadow known as Port or Town Meadow is still held in common by the freemen of Oxford, and there you may still see their cattle grazing as they grazed when D'Oily reigned. The story indeed is told of a famous Oxford historian that when asked by an American visitor to show him the oldest historical monument in Oxford he took him to Port Meadow. Professor Freeman's humour was grim; but in this case his selection was not much at fault.

Under D'Oily, elder and younger, the recovery of Oxford was rapid. To Robert D'Oily the Second—or rather to the importunities of his wife, prompted by her confessor—Oxford owed that which for 300 years was its chief ecclesiastical glory and pride. In 1129 he founded the great Augustinian Priory of Osney, soon afterwards raised to the dignity of an Abbey, and rebuilt on a still more splendid scale in 1247. With its two lofty towers, its beautiful thirteenth-century windows, its priceless glass, its cloisters and library, its great court as

large as Tom Quad, Osney Abbey was famous throughout the land for its splendour, wealth, and beauty. And to think that of that stately abbey not a single material trace—except the bells transferred to Christ Church and one ruined doorway—remains! Enough of the ruins survived until Dr. Johnson's day to evoke from the philosopher the exclamation: 'Sir, to look upon them fills me with indignation.' On the dissolution of the abbeys, Osney became the seat of the new bishopric founded by Henry the Eighth, and its last abbot, Robert King, was the first Bishop of the new diocese. But, four years later (1546), the Bishop's stool was transferred to the Priory of St. Frideswide's, now become the Cathedral Church of Christ. Hard by St. Frideswide's Priory, to the north of it, was the Jewry—that part of the town assigned to the Jews. They were a very wealthy and important community in medieval Oxford, with their own synagogue and burial ground (now the Physic Garden), with their distinctive dress and customs, and always under the special protection of the king. Between the Jews and the neighbouring priory there were frequent quarrels. In 1185 the Prior of St. Frideswide complained that the Jews had mocked the relics of the Saint as they were carried in procession, and in 1268 they tore the crucifix itself from the hands of its bearer and trod it underfoot. For this outrage they had to atone by presenting to the Priory a massive silver crucifix, and erecting a cross of marble. Edward I banished all the Jews in 1289, but local tradition has it that a small number of them managed to remain in

Oxford until the general recall of the Jews under Cromwell. But they were not allowed to charge students more than 43 per cent. for loans. Whether they charged citizens more or less is unknown.

But we anticipate; we must get back to Norman days. The Norman kings loved the chase, and Oxford, rich in the forests of Bagley and Cumnor, of Shotover, Wychwood, and Woodstock, became their happy hunting-ground.

Henry I showed special favour to the city. He may have granted to the burgesses their gild-merchant; it certainly existed as early as his reign. [5] He also conferred upon the city social distinction and added to its architectural dignity by building just outside the North Gate the palace of Beaumont as a royal residence. Traces of this palace survived well into the nineteenth century, and its memory is still commemorated by the name given to the street built upon its site. The palace itself was granted by Edward II to the Carmelite Friars, who used it partly as a residence and partly as a place of education for the members of their Order. From the ruins of the convent Laud is said to have obtained much of the material with which he enlarged the library and built the new quadrangle of St. John's College. Gloucester Green, the open space to the east of Worcester College, formed part of the old park of the palace of Beaumont. In that palace Queen Eleanor—Henry II's wife—resided frequently, and there Richard Cœur de Lion was born. His younger brother John was born in the king's hunting seat at Woodstock.

Other evidences of the favour shown by the Norman and Angevin kings are not lacking. Henry I founded, and Henry II additionally endowed, the Hospital of St. Bartholomew—about a mile outside the East Gate—for twelve brothers and a chaplain, with a leper house close by. Edward III gave the Hospital to Adam de Brome as a refuge in times of plague within the city for the students of his recently founded college of Oriel; but from that day to this the Hospital, remains of which still stand, has been a bone of contention between the City and the College.

In the troubled reign of Stephen Oxford had its full share of political incidents. From Oxford the king issued his Charter of Liberties in 1135. At Oxford was held, four years later, the Council which precipitated the crisis of the reign, when Stephen alienated the Church by the arrest of Bishops Roger of Salisbury and Alexander of Lincoln. When, in 1141, the Empress Matilda was driven out of London it was to Oxford she fled for refuge. In Oxford Castle she was besieged by Stephen, and thence after ten weeks' siege she escaped over the snow to Abingdon. Finally, it was at Oxford that the Council was held at which the earls and the barons swore fealty to Matilda's son, the young Henry of Anjou.

Henry II in 1155 granted by charter to his 'citizens of Oxenford' all laws and customs and laws and quit-tances which they enjoyed under Henry I, 'and specially their Gild-merchant'; and further: 'to be quit of toll and passenger tax, and every custom through all England

and Normandy, by land, by water, by sea-coast, *by land, and by strand*', and to have 'all other customs and liberties and laws of their own which they have in common with my citizens of London'. This conjunction of Oxford with London is significant of the place which our own city held in the national economy. But specially important is the mention of the gild merchant. Into the many vexed questions as to the relation of the gild merchant and the municipality we cannot enter. It must suffice to say that this Tradesmen's Gild was the first corporate body in the city; that early in the twelfth century (at latest) it enjoyed rights of self-government; that its members constituted the burgesses of the city, and that they alone were privileged to trade in city and suburbs. The chief officer of the gild was the Alderman, as the Reeve was the chief officer of the Port or Shire.

In the first year of King John we reach a further and most important stage in the evolution of the city's government. On 14 June 1199 King John granted to the burgesses of Oxford a charter, in return for a payment of 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.). Under this charter the burgesses received a perpetual lease of the town of Oxford at a fee-farm of £63 os. 5d., and the government was vested in a Mayor and two aldermen. The Mayor received the further privilege of acting with the Lord Mayor of London as butler at the Coronation Feast—a privilege which he still enjoys.

With the advent of a Mayor and a Municipal Corporation this sketch of the origin of the city may fitly close. Fifteen years later there appears upon the scene

in Oxford another official, destined for many centuries to be the rival of the Mayor, the head of the gild, not of the traders but of the scholars—the Chancellor of the incipient University. But his appearance announces the advent of another phase in the history of Oxford.

Before passing to it, it seems well to emphasize the importance of the city before it became known as a seat of learning. As frontier town, as venerated shrine, as fortified burh, as gemôt place both before and after the Conquest, as Norman fortress, as royal residence, as seat of priory and abbey, as a busy market and possessor of a Merchant Gild—Oxford was a famous city before it was the home of a still more famous university. On this point J. R. Green, himself an Oxford citizen as well as an Oxford student, is particularly emphatic:

‘The University of Oxford is so far from being older than the City, that Oxford had already seen five centuries of borough life before a student appeared within its streets. The University found it a busy, prosperous borough, and reduced it to a cluster of lodging-houses. It found it among the first of English municipalities, and it so utterly crushed its freedom that the recovery of some of the commonest rights of self-government has only been brought about by recent legislation. The story of the struggle which ended in this usurpation is one of the most interesting in our municipal annals, and it is one which has left its mark not on the town only, but on the very constitution and character of the conquering University.’

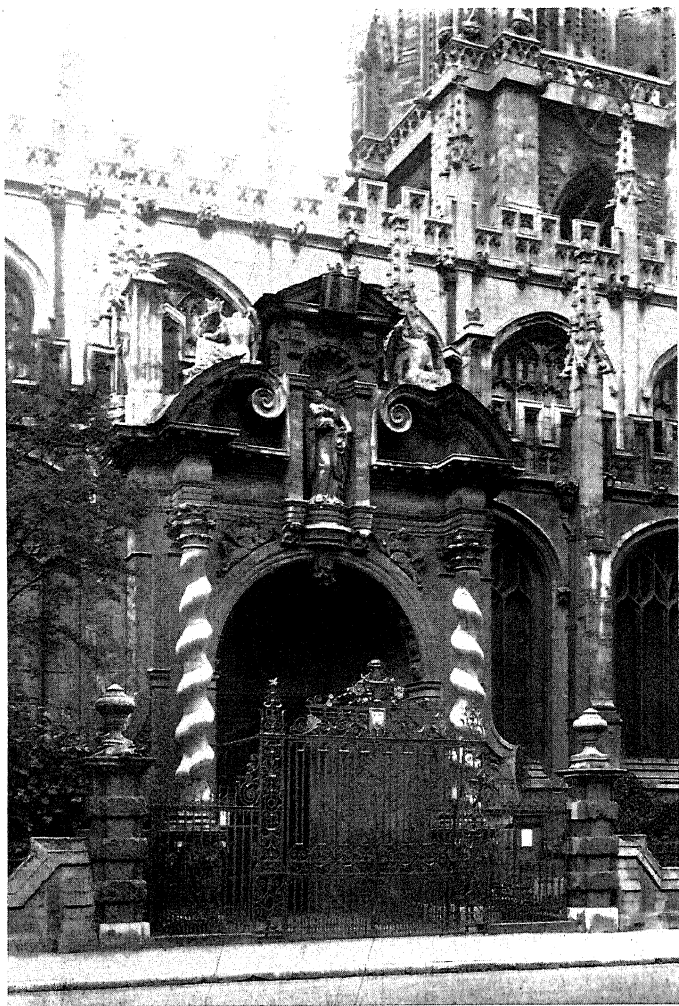
III

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE UNIVERSITY

IN the origins of the University, as in those of the city, we encounter myth and legend before we get on to the firm ground of History. That is partly because, like most English institutions, the University came into being gradually, if not imperceptibly. The legends need not, however, detain us long. Mention has been already made of Greek-lade and Latin-lade. More rational and more obstinate are the legends which cluster round the name of King Alfred. But they are not very ancient. The first mention of them seems to date from the reign of Edward III, when Ranulf Higden wrote in the *Polychronicon*: 'he [Alfred] was the first to establish schools for the various arts in Oxford, to which city he granted privileges of many kinds.' University College has in particular claimed King Alfred as its founder, and in 1381 the College presented a petition to Richard II, in connexion with a lawsuit in which it was engaged, referring to itself as 'your College, called Mickil University Hall in Oxendford which College was first founded by your noble progenitor King Alfred for the maintenance of twenty-four divines for ever'. Thereafter the legend of the Alfredian origin of the University grew and was indeed improved upon. In 1872 University College celebrated its millenary, but the solemnity of the occasion was somewhat marred by an incident lacking in manners if not in humour. In the middle of dinner there was handed to the chairman—

Dean Stanley—a box which on being opened was found to contain the fragment of a charred bun, together with a letter from Professor Freeman saying that he had just found a fragment of one of King Alfred's overbaked cakes, and he had sent it as a contribution to the millenary celebrations of King Alfred's college.

The Alfredian legend was greatly resented at Cambridge, and when in the sixteenth century some Fellows of University College, more loyal to their foundation than to historic truth, inserted the story in an old manuscript copy of Asser's *Life of Alfred* the indignation of Cambridge passed beyond control. But their ingenuity was not at fault; they promptly produced an authentic charter which proved the foundation of Cambridge to be the work of King Arthur. Cambridge historians must deal with the Arthurian legend. [6] 'Oxford', as Dr. Rashdall has truly said, 'must be content to accept its academic position as an accident of its commercial importance.' There are, indeed, no traces of schools in Oxford before the twelfth century. Early in that century, Theobald of Étampes gathered round him a band of scholars, and a little later teachers like Robert Pullen, the famous theologian, and Vacarius, an Italian Doctor of Civil Law, did the same. But a few isolated teachers, even though surrounded by eager students, do not constitute a University. There is, however, indisputable evidence that, before the end of the twelfth century, Oxford was recognized as a University or *Studium Generale*. [7] The term *Studium Generale* meant not a place where knowledge of all kinds could be obtained,



PORCH OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN

but a school to which scholars from all parts might resort, or (later) one which had the privilege of bestowing on its Masters the right to teach anywhere. *Universitas* similarly meant not an intellectual emporium, but simply an aggregate of persons, with common interests, privileges, and property, associated in a religious, political, trading, or teaching *Corporation*. Only by gradual usage was the term confined to a Corporation or Gild of Teachers.

Before the end of the twelfth century such a University was definitely established in Oxford, and the question naturally arises: what had led to its establishment? The answer is still within the arena of controversy, but it is now generally agreed that for the origins of the University of Oxford and for its characteristic features we must look to the famous University of Paris. The foundation of Paris, as of its great rival or sister Bologna, was due to that wonderful intellectual revival which marked the close of the eleventh and reached its climax in the twelfth century. Large numbers of English students had found their way during that period to Paris, but before the twelfth century closed there was a migration [8] of scholars from Paris to Oxford. Migrations of scholars were not, however, uncommon in the Middle Ages. Sometimes, as in the case of an exodus from Oxford to Stamford and Northampton, it was merely temporary, sometimes it led to the foundation of new universities. Thus Padua was founded from Bologna, Oxford from Paris, and Cambridge from Oxford.

What led to the migration from Paris to Oxford? John of Salisbury tells us that 'in 1167 France the mildest and most civil of nations expelled her foreign students'. On the other hand, we know that Henry II was quarrelling at that time with Archbishop Thomas in regard to clerical immunities, and with the view it would seem of punishing the partisans of Becket, he summoned all English clerks who were studying in France to return immediately to England 'as they loved their benefices'. Return they did, bringing with them their teachers, and something of the organization under which they had lived in Paris. What definitely attracted them to Oxford it is not possible with certainty to say. But the choice was not unnatural. Here was a town of quite the first rank, all but a capital; a favourite home of the king; easy of access both by river and road, and yet easily defensible; the seat of a noble abbey and a famous priory; a commercial centre with its merchant gild; already the resort of famous teachers and scholars. It is, then, no matter for surprise that the clerks recalled or expelled (possibly both) from Paris should have established themselves at Oxford. About the year 1186 Gerald de Barri (Giraldus Cambrensis) visited Oxford to give public readings from his recently completed work on the Topography of Ireland. He chose Oxford, as he tells us, because 'more clerks were to be found there and they more clerkly than elsewhere'. Incidentally we also learn from him that the students were taught by teachers who were organized in *Faculties*. Thus before the end of the twelfth century the *Universitas*,

the *Studium Generale*, struck roots into the soil, roots from which a mighty forest of learning was destined in the coming years to spring.

Of the gild origin of the University there are still traces in its constitution. A Master's degree, for example, is primarily a licence to teach, and such licence could only be obtained by those who had served the regular seven years' apprenticeship and had been admitted with full ceremony to the mastership of the craft; of this mastership the cap or biretta was the coveted symbol. But despite antiquarian research one cannot but sympathize with the sentiment so resonantly expressed by Mr. Gladstone in the first Romanes Lecture:

'It always seems as if the word University, soaring above the plane of antiquarian learning, at the least prefigured for itself a very high prerogative, and was fitted, and as it were predestined to convey the idea of its ultimate function, as the treasure-house of all knowledge and the palaestra of universal instruction.'

The fact, however, remains that the University movement was simply one of several manifestations of the tendency of the time towards *association*. The Teachers' Gild was similar in origin and parallel in constitution with the Merchant Gild which in Oxford as elsewhere played so great a part in the development of our civic life. These scholastic gilds were of two types: gilds of students and gilds of teachers. Bologna and the other Italian universities were gilds of *students*; Oxford, like its prototype Paris and most of the

universities in the north of Europe, was a gild of *teachers*, Masters or Doctors. To this magisterial rule the Scotch Universities formed a curious exception; and to this day the Lord Rectors of the Scotch Universities are elected by the scholars; the Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge by the Masters.

We may take it, then, that before the end of the twelfth century there was established in Oxford not only a merchant gild or corporation of traders but a scholastic gild or corporation of teachers. So rapid was the growth of the University that by 1209 there are said to have been about 3,000 students in Oxford. The numbers may be grossly exaggerated, but even so it is difficult to understand how a crowd of young students were lodged and fed in medieval Oxford. According to the Jew in Richard of Devizes' *History of Richard I* they fared none too well: 'Oxford', he says, 'barely keeps its *clerks* from starving, Exeter gives the same grain to men and horses, York swarms with filthy Scots, Bristol contains none but soap-makers, Winchester is best of all.' A sort of economic encyclopaedia written about 1300, in enumerating the products for which different towns were famous, says: 'Oxford for schools, Cambridge for eels.'

The 'schools' of Oxford, however, consisted at first not of buildings, but of scholars. There were no colleges, and the students lodged where they could. The most comfortable houses—perhaps the only stone-built houses—belonged to the Jews. They provided the best lodgings. By degrees other citizens found it to their advantage to build larger houses, and these they let as

'hostels' to small groups of students, who elected a leader or Principal, not necessarily a student, to be responsible for the rent and the housekeeping. [9] Later on these 'hostels' or 'halls' were put on a more organized and regular basis. An early statute forbade manciples or servants to act as Principals, who were required to be Masters of Arts, to give security to the Chancellor for the payment of the rent, and to take responsibility for the conduct of their scholars. Some of these 'halls' were afterwards, as we shall see, absorbed into colleges; four survived until the last years of the nineteenth century; only one of them (St. Edmund Hall) still exists.

Hardly was the University established in Oxford when it was threatened with extinction. In 1209 a scholar, while practising archery, killed a woman, apparently by accident, but nevertheless he deemed it prudent to flee the town and made good his escape. Whereupon the Mayor raided the hostel where the scholar resided, and arrested and imprisoned several clerks. The quarrel between King John and Pope Innocent III was then at its height; England lay under interdict, and the Pope had threatened the king himself with excommunication. John happened to be hunting at Woodstock, and the Mayor, not sorry, perhaps, to get the double opportunity of pleasing the king and punishing the clerks, appealed to the king for permission to make an example. It was readily given, and two or three clerks were hanged 'in contempt of ecclesiastical liberty' for their companion's homicide. Alarmed by these high-handed proceedings the Masters

and scholars fled from Oxford: some to Paris, some to Reading, and others to Cambridge. Thus Cambridge owed its *Studium Generale* to Oxford, as Oxford owed it to Paris. Meanwhile the Teachers' Gild suspended all scholastic exercises in Oxford, and the Legate Nicholas laid the city under interdict.

The 'suspension' did not last long. In 1214 John submitted to the Pope, and the city of Oxford made its peace with the Papal Legate. The Legatine Ordinance of 1214, in which the conditions of pardon were embodied, has been described as 'the first document in the nature of a charter of privilege which the University of Oxford can boast'. The offending citizens were, in the first place, to do penance by marching without boots or coats to the grave wherein the bodies of the executed scholars had been interred and to escort them to the cemetery for reverent burial; they were to offer masses for their souls; and to make reparation to the scholars. For the next ten years the citizens had to remit half the rents of the hostels and schools occupied by the clerks, while the city was ordered to pay the sum of 52s. a year in perpetuity to the Abbot of Osney and the Prior of St. Frideswide for distribution among poor scholars, and to feed a hundred poor scholars with bread, ale, and pottage and one large dish of fish or flesh yearly on the feast of St. Nicholas, the patron saint of scholars. Provisions were to be sold at a reasonable rate, and fifty of the leading burgesses were to engage themselves by oath to observe the conditions laid down in the Ordinance.

The payment of the annual fine of 52s. was, in 1214, transferred by agreement from the city to the Abbey of Eynsham, and on the dissolution of the Abbey the liability was undertaken by the Crown, by whom it is still paid. In 1240 Bishop Grosseteste ordained that the fine should be paid into a *chest*, deposited at St. Frideswide's, out of which loans were issued to poor students, without interest, but on the security of books, clothes, plate, or other property. Many such *loan chests* were subsequently established, and formed a unique feature of the English universities.

The Ordinance of 1214 contained another provision which is of special significance as defining the relations of the young University and the ancient city. It laid down that any clerk arrested by the townsmen should be at once surrendered on the demand of the Bishop of Lincoln, or the archdeacon of the place or his official, or the Chancellor 'whom the Bishop of Lincoln shall set over the scholars'.

This is the first mention of an officer destined to fill the highest place in the hierarchy of the University, and until the end of the fifteenth century to be its resident ruler. This officer, acting under the authority of the Bishop of Lincoln, was elected by the Masters from their own number. The office, as Dr. Rashdall has pointed out, 'is clearly an imitation of the Parisian Chancellors. It is the Cathedral dignity reproduced in a University town which possessed no Cathedral. And this fact is the key to the peculiar character of the Oxford Chancellorship—its almost unique combination of the functions of

a continental Chancellor with those of a continental Rector'. The jurisdiction of the Chancellor's Court was enlarged in 1244 and the Chancellor himself was a justice of the peace, armed with powers of imprisonment, banishment, fine and excommunication. He exercised with the Mayor a species of joint jurisdiction over the citizens. In the preservation of the peace and the administration of justice the Chancellor was assisted by two Proctors who are first heard of in 1248 when they appeared before Henry III at Woodstock to lay before the king the complaints of the University against the Jews and the burgesses. The two Proctors represented one the Northern Masters and the other the Southern, for at Oxford, as at Paris, the University was divided into *nations*, though Paris counted four and Oxford only two.

The Proctors were (and are) in a special sense the representatives of the Masters of the gild and acted as the executive of the embryonic University. They date from the thirteenth century—a time when the development of the University was exceptionally rapid. Nor was it retarded—rather otherwise—by the frequent conflicts between the 'clerks' and the 'laymen' of the city. Pope and king were alike disposed to protect the privileges of the scholars: but that the privileges were not infrequently abused there is abundant evidence to prove. Thus in 1231 King Henry III addressed letters to the Sheriffs both of Oxford and Cambridge forbidding any clerks to remain in those towns who were not 'under the discipline or tuition of some Master of the Schools'. Nor was this regulation superfluous.

The students came up as boys of about fourteen and remained in residence for seven years. They were mostly of middle-class origin, the cleverer sons of yeomen or merchants, though there was at least a sprinkling of nobly-born youths, who not infrequently were attended by their own servants. They were all 'clerks', taking minor orders, whether intended for the priesthood or not. Such orders were indeed essential for all who aspired to 'professional' occupations, as lawyers, architects, physicians, or civil servants. Except for the sons of noble families, the University was the only avenue to high preferment in Church and State.

The University, in those days, had neither buildings nor endowments. The students lived largely on the alms they could collect, and life was hard for them. But their spirits were as high as those of their sheltered successors. Nor was their interest in politics less keen. When the Barons' War broke out they trooped off to fight with Simon de Montfort. More often, however, they were fighting nearer home. In 1238 a serious affray took place when the Papal Legate Otho was visiting Osney Abbey, as a result of which the whole town was placed under interdict and all scholastic exercises were suspended. In 1244 the clerks attacked the Jewry. In the hope of preventing such outbreaks and with a view to strengthening discipline, permission was given to the Chancellor to use the king's prison in the Castle. [10] Concurrently with the increase in the disciplinary powers of the Chancellor over the scholars, we may note the growth of his privileges and theirs as

against the citizens. The Chancellor secured exclusive jurisdiction in cases where the debts or contracts of students were involved (1244). The right of the Chancellor and Proctors to fix prices and test the quality of goods sold to scholars and to check the rates of usury demanded by the Jews was affirmed; and every Mayor and Bailiff, on taking office, was required to swear to respect University privileges.

Plainly, the new University had, before the close of the thirteenth century, planted itself firmly in the heart of the ancient city. Not, however, until the development of the collegiate system did the University begin to overshadow the town in a material sense. Before that happened Oxford had become the home and the nursery of the first of the great 'movements' with which its name is imperishably associated.

IV

THE FRIARS

OF the great religious movements which in Oxford have found a nursing mother that of the Friars was the first and perhaps the greatest. St. Dominic (1170-1221), the founder of the 'Preaching Friars', was a Castilian of noble birth. St. Giovanni Bernardone, known to history as St. Francis, was an Italian, born in 1181 at Assisi, the son of a wealthy merchant. Until his twenty-fourth year he was engaged in his father's business, but in 1204 he had a serious illness, and, as he lay at the point of death, there appeared to him a vision of the Saviour. [11] 'Go and build my Church again' was the command addressed to him. On his recovery he did the Master's bidding literally: he devoted his fortune and the work of his hands to the rebuilding of the Chapel of St. Mary and the Angels in his native town. That done, he realized that the command was to be interpreted in a larger sense, and he set himself to rebuild the Church of Christ.

It was in grievous need of repair. The Pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216) marked the zenith of the medieval Papacy. At no other time was the ideal of Hildebrand so completely realized. The Church had triumphed over the Empire; kings and princes were proud to serve the Vicar of Christ. But with the Papacy at the zenith, religion was at the nadir. Zeal had grown cold; missionary enthusiasm had evaporated. Stately abbeys testified, in all lands, alike to the munificence of

the wealthy and to the devotion and piety of the lowlier folk. But the monks, though ministering to the necessities, spiritual and bodily, of the country-side did little or nothing for the growing population of the towns. The 'religious' thought more of saving their own souls than of the salvation of the world. To preserve the truth in its purity and integrity rather than to combat heresy was their special task. Yet noxious heresies were growing apace, not least in those towns where scholars congregated. Plainly there was a need of new methods, and of men inspired with newly kindled zeal.

St. Dominic and St. Francis stepped into the breach. In the same year that King John signed the great Charter of Liberties in England, Innocent III gave formal sanction to the new Dominican Order, and the first Chapter of the new Franciscan Order was held at Assisi (1215). The Dominicans established their headquarters in the famous university city of Bologna (1220), and a year later the first contingent of these *Fratres Praedicatores* arrived at Oxford.

The Oxford Dominicans established themselves in the heart of the Jewish quarter; they built themselves a small oratory in St. Edward's parish and opened a school, also dedicated to St. Edward. It was soon crowded out, and so great was the number of their Jewish converts that Henry III assigned to them the site on which the Town Hall now stands. There they built a hall (*Domus Conversorum*) for the reception of converts. Among the earlier lecturers of the new Dominican School was Robert Bacon (sometimes identified

as the uncle of the more famous Roger), who entered the Order in 1230. The standing of the lecturer and his Order may be gauged from the fact that preaching before Henry III in Oxford (1233) he boldly told the king that there would be no peace in the land until he dismissed from his counsels Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, the leading representative of the foreign party at the king's Court, and the most powerful of the king's counsellors.

The assertion was as true as it was courageous. Never was the Pope so powerful in England, never were his minions so greedy, as under Henry III. Bishop Grosseteste declared that the Pope's nominees had revenues within the realm three times as great as the royal income. No wonder if all that was best in the English Church and all that was most patriotic in the State were in opposition to the pope-ridden king. In this respect, as in others, Oxford was the microcosm of England.

Three years after the establishment of the Dominicans at Oxford, nine Brethren of St. Francis landed at Dover; they were kindly received at Canterbury, and two of their number—both Englishmen—were sent on to Oxford. Warmly welcomed by the Dominican Brothers they presently hired a humble house from Robert the Mercer and established themselves in St. Ebbe's, the poorest and most wretched of the Oxford suburbs.

Humbly assuming the lowliest of titles (*Fratres Minores*) the Franciscans quickly acquired a position of immense influence in the University. Like the Dominicans they were 'Mendicants', vowed to poverty in the

most literal sense, but their original purpose and mission differed somewhat from that of the Preaching Friars. The mission of the Brethren of the Spanish noble was to the educated; they were, it has been truly said, 'the Sophists of their age'; their aim was 'to turn out trained preachers furnished with all the tricks of dialectic'; they sought to bring back the heretic to truth. The mission of the Franciscans was to the poor, the sick, the suffering. Their work was in the slums; they tended the lepers in the loathsome lazar houses; they ministered to the outcasts.

To their original vows they remained technically faithful; but their devoted work could not but extort the admiration of all classes; wealth poured in upon them, and in time they yielded to its corroding influence. Yet for more than half a century they continued to do a magnificent work for Oxford and for England. Their founder has been described as 'the John Wesley of the thirteenth century'. The description is apt, but perhaps Rénan was even nearer the mark when he declared that St. Francis was 'the only perfect Christian since Jesus'. His gospel was the gospel of love, and to every living thing he was infinitely tender. He sought by the rules of his Order to keep his followers faithful to the precepts of his own Master. But even before his death (1226) his influence was waning, and the real organizer of the Grey Friars, as History knows them, was not Brother Francis, but Brother Elias of Cortona who supplanted St. Francis, and in league with Pope Gregory IX transformed the Order.

Nevertheless, the Franciscans preserved to the end the features of both their parents. As itinerant evangelists they preached the gospel of comfort to the poor; as Masters of Theology, as professors of Scholastic Philosophy, they imparted an immense impulse to higher education and gave to Oxford its world-renown as a seat of learning. To the work of the Friars no finer or more discriminating tribute was paid by any contemporary than that contained in a letter to Pope Gregory IX from the first teacher of the Oxford Franciscans.

‘Your holiness [wrote Grosseteste] may be assured that in England inestimable blessings have been produced by the Friars for they illuminate our whole country with the light of their preaching and learning. Their holy conversation excites vehemently to contempt of the world and to voluntary poverty, and to the practice of *humility* in the highest ranks, to obedience to the *prelates* and head of the Church, to patience in tribulation, abstinence in plenty, in a word to the practice of all virtues. If your holiness could see with what devotion and humility the people run to hear the word of life from them, for confession and instruction as to daily life, and how much improvement the clergy and regulars have obtained by imitating them, you would indeed say that they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.’ (Ep. 58.)

Grosseteste wrote of what he knew. Previous to his appointment as Bishop of Lincoln (1235–53) he had been for nearly ten years lecturer to the Grey Friars. Though not himself a Friar he admirably exemplified, alike in his life and work, the highest ideals of the Franciscan movement. As a student of scientific

theology he anticipated the methods of the Oxford Reformers: of Colet and Linacre, of Grocyn and Erasmus. He bade the Oxford teachers make the Old and New Testaments the basis of education in Theology. He invited Greek scholars from abroad to settle in Oxford, and himself superintended a new translation of the foundation-work of Oxford Philosophy, the *Ethics* of Aristotle.

In his fearless exposure of the abuses in the Church—of the prevalent greed, indolence, and ignorance; of the scandals connected with the clerical courts; of pluralities, non-residence, and the misuse of ecclesiastical weapons—he was the precursor of the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century. Matthew Paris, a contemporary chronicler, sums up the work and character of Grosseteste as follows:

‘A manifest confuter of the Pope and the King, the blamer of Prelates, the corrector of Monks, the director of priests, the instructor of clerks, the support of scholars, the preacher to the people, the persecutor of the incontinent, the sedulous student of all scripture, the hammer and despiser of the Romans. At the table of bodily refreshment he was hospitable, eloquent, courteous, pleasant, and affable. At the spiritual table devout, tearful, and contrite. In his episcopal office he was sedulous, venerable, and indefatigable.’

Truly a wonderful picture of a good Christian, a great statesman, and a perfect gentleman.

The lectureship vacated in 1235 by Grosseteste was held in succession by three secular priests, each of whom

became a bishop. Ralph of Maidstone resigned the bishopric of Hereford to enter the Franciscan Friary at Oxford; Bonaventura, General of the Franciscans, refused the archbishopric of York, and Robert Kilwardby, a Dominican Friar, became Archbishop of Canterbury (1272); John Peckham, his successor at Canterbury, was a Franciscan; Jerome, Bonaventura's successor, became pope as Nicholas IV in 1289.

Such facts bear eloquent testimony to the position attained in the first century of their existence by the Oxford Friars. But Grosseteste's favourite pupils and most intimate friends were Adam de Marisco (Marsh) and Roger Bacon. Of Grosseteste Bacon wrote: 'One man only has known the Sciences namely the Bishop of Lincoln . . . whose life few prelates imitate and whose studies the so-called learned orders and the secular clergy entirely neglect.' Even more remarkable is his testimony to his priest Adam: 'Perfect in all knowledge, and worthy to be classed with Solomon, Aristotle, and Grosseteste.'

In this galaxy of learning the greatest figure of all is that of Friar Bacon himself. His life (*c.* 1214-94) covers nearly the whole of the century. At Oxford he was the pupil of the Edmund (Rich) of Abingdon, Saint and statesman, theologian and philosopher, who in 1234 went to Canterbury as Archbishop. From Oxford Bacon went to Paris where he graduated as M.A. in 1245, and began his researches in natural philosophy. He returned to Oxford about 1250, intent on the accomplishment of the work to which he had already dedicated

his life. Religion had suffered grievous harm from the unscientific pursuit of knowledge, and from the snippets of philosophy and the smattering of science, which were all that the students of the time could pick up from the lectures they attended, and the mutilated texts they read. Convinced that religion had nothing to lose but everything to gain from a complete and accurate revelation of scientific and philosophical truth, Bacon set himself by patient investigation, and by laborious, elaborate and costly experiments, to penetrate to the heart of things and to present to the world, in an ordered form, the sum of his researches, a compendium of all knowledge. Optics was his own special subject, but mathematics was, in his view, the key to all scientific knowledge. 'The neglect of it for nearly thirty or forty years hath nearly destroyed the entire studies of Latin Christendom. For he who knows not mathematics cannot know any other sciences; and what is more he cannot discover his own ignorance or find its proper remedies.' Despairingly he complains of the lack of tables and scientific instruments: 'Without mathematical instruments no science can be mastered and these instruments are not to be found among the Latins, . . . Besides better tables are indispensably necessary.' Bacon did all, and more than all, one individual could do towards making good these deficiencies, and spent a large fortune on instruments, experiments, and research. But research demands large endowment and co-operative effort. Neither was, in the thirteenth century, forthcoming; to have produced, in their absence, the *Magnum Opus*—

‘at once the Encyclopaedia and the Organon of the thirteenth century’, as Dr. Whewell happily described it, was an achievement nothing short of miraculous. Bacon, moreover, had the true scientific temperament: ‘he was actuated’, says Anthony Wood, ‘by such a generous spirit, that he not only disclosed to his pupils the most precious and abstruse results of his inquiries, but never more congratulated himself than when he fell in with any one who had genius and inclination to receive his instruction.’ To his contemporaries suspect as a necromancer, sustained by the Powers of Darkness, Bacon stands, to all succeeding ages, as a perfect type of the unselfish scholar, the single-minded devotee of truth.

Such was the Friar movement at its highest. The Dominicans and Franciscans were followed to Oxford by the White Friars (Carmelites) who established themselves on the west side of Stockwell Street (1256), and by the Augustinians, who in 1268 founded a priory outside Smith’s Gate on the site where Wadham College now stands. After the close of the century the great movement initiated by St. Dominic and St. Francis lost much of its pristine purity and vigour. The vow of apostolical poverty, though theoretically enforced, was in practice violated, and not that vow alone. Every one is familiar with Chaucer’s satirical portrait of the Friar ‘a wanton and a merye’, popular with ladies as an easy confessor, a frequenter of taverns, always ready to oblige with a song, or a tune on the

harp (roti)—a portrait all the more striking in contrast with that of the faithful parish priest, the 'good man of religion', the 'pore Parson of a town'. Not inconsistent though less unpleasing is Shakespeare's portrait of Friar Laurence. Both poets, however, made it plain that the splendour of the dawn had faded, that even the meridian was past, and that the time had come when the movement, so full of promise in its earlier days, had exhausted its powers for good. Yet no movement, initiated by mere men, had ever, during a brief efflorescence, yielded more precious fruit.

V

THE EARLIER COLLEGES

WALTER DE MERTON

IF the thirteenth century was pre-eminently the age of the Friars, it was John Wyclif and his followers who gave distinction to the Oxford of the fourteenth. Oxford was, however, less united in defence of Wyclif than in support of Grosseteste, and of the great monuments of the fourteenth century the most imposing was erected by an opponent of Wyclif, and with the object of combating his erroneous teaching.

Yet, despite the novel features embodied in his great foundation, William of Wykeham was not the originator of the system which transformed the medieval University into a federation of colleges. That distinction belongs to Walter de Merton. For nearly a century the University, as already indicated, had been 'non-collegiate'. Oxford had neither buildings nor endowments; its students lodged as 'Chamberdekyns', with citizens. The life was rough; so were the students, more like the students of the *Quartier Latin* than the well-sheltered collegians of to-day. Convenience, therefore, as well as discipline dictated the provision of hostels or 'halls', some of which developed later into colleges.

Among the colleges the University Calendar gives chronological precedence to University and Balliol. But upon that delicate ground it is not for the heedless wayfarer to enter. Let it suffice to say that University

College owes its precedence to the fact that it developed out of the first hall acquired by the University for the accommodation of students, an acquisition rendered possible by the bequest of William of Durham, an ecclesiastic who had studied in Paris. In 1249 he left a sum of 310 marks 'for the purchase of annual rents unto the use of 10 or more men to study theology', and in 1253 the University, acting as trustee, purchased a site, and built thereon the 'Great Hall of the University'. Not, however, until 1280 did the first statutes confer upon the scholars of University Hall those rights of self-government which are of the essence of a collegiate society. The first statutes of Balliol date from 1282, but some years earlier, John de Balliol, a great baron and northern lord of Barnard Castle, had, as an act of penance, established, on the site of the present college, an almshouse for the reception of four poor students. Then there is Worcester College which under that name dates back only to the eighteenth century. Yet some of its buildings are the oldest collegiate buildings in Oxford. Its thirteenth-century *mansiones* were built by the great Benedictine abbeys of Gloucester, Glastonbury, Evesham, Winchcombe, Malmesbury, and other Benedictine Houses for the reception of their young students in Oxford. The college, founded originally as Gloucester College in 1283, has had a chequered history, and lacks the continuity enjoyed by the wealthier foundations. Its origins are of interest chiefly as testifying to the eagerness of the monks, and in particular the Benedictine Order, to obtain for their young men all



BENEDICTINE HOUSES OF WORCESTER COLLEGE

the educational advantages which the newly established University could offer, and at the same time protect them against the dangers and temptations to which the students of those days were exposed. Not to lag behind their brethren in the south, the Benedictines of Durham purchased a site of some ten acres outside the northern wall of the city and in 1286 started building their Durham Hall. From that germ developed Durham College, refounded in 1555 by Sir Thomas Pope, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

It is, however, with the foundation of Merton College that the history of the college system at Oxford really begins. Its founder, Walter de Merton, may have been a pupil of Adam Marsh, but he was eminent less as scholar and churchman than as statesman and man of affairs. He was employed by Henry III in the delicate diplomatic negotiations with the Pope (1255) arising from the grant of the kingdom of Sicily to Prince Edmund. He held the office of Chancellor from 1261 to 1263, and again from 1272 to 1274, having in the meantime (1271) been appointed Justiciar. In 1274 he was rewarded for his many services to the Crown with the See of Rochester.

Between 1263 and 1274 Walter de Merton obtained a series of charters assigning certain manors for the endowment of the college which he proceeded to found in Oxford. The earliest edition of the college statutes dates from 1264 and they were sealed by the king himself in their final form in 1274.

Pre-eminently and in the best sense a man of the

world, Walter de Merton intended his college to be the nursing mother of men who should follow in his own footsteps, and give themselves to the service of Church or State. The new foundation had several novel and distinctive features. The corporation was to be self-governing, to fill vacancies by co-optation, to use a common seal, and to hold the property with which its founder liberally endowed it. The students were to live by a common rule under a Warden elected by themselves, but they were to take no monastic vows of obedience, poverty, or celibacy, on pain of deprivation. They were to read Theology, but only after they had taken a degree in Arts, and were not to be encouraged to live a cloistered life but to go forth into the great world. If they were fortunate enough to make money, they were enjoined to show their gratitude, in practical fashion, to the House in which they had been reared.

The lines thus laid down by Walter de Merton were followed by almost all the colleges subsequently founded in Oxford and Cambridge. The colleges were religious foundations, but their primary purpose was not prayer and contemplation but the pursuit of learning and education for a life of active service.

The seed planted by Walter de Merton has indeed yielded a rich and abundant harvest. The college system is the glory of our two ancient Universities. The corporate life; the common loyalty to great traditions; the emulation between college and college, on playing fields and river, and in academical distinctions—an emulation carried from Oxford into the great world of

politics, business, or professional life; the combination of reasonable discipline and extraordinary freedom; the close association between teacher and pupil; the still closer association of like-minded men, in societies, clubs, and what not. Then there is the fruitful connexion, maintained through the centuries, between particular colleges in Oxford and particular localities or schools, as for instance between Queen's and the schools of northern England, between Balliol and Glasgow through the Snell Exhibitions, between New College and Winchester, Christ Church and Westminster, St. John's and the City of London (through the Merchant Taylors' Foundation), Brasenose and Manchester, Jesus and Wales. Subsequent pages will also illustrate the connexion between one or other of our colleges and some great historical movement: as for instance between New College and Lincoln and the Wycliffite movement; between All Souls and the French Wars; between Magdalen and Corpus Christi and the Renaissance—the revival of humanistic learning; between Christ Church and the Protestant Reformation; between St. John's and the Anglican revival; between Wadham and the Royal Society; between Lincoln and the Methodist revival; between Oriel and the Tractarian Movement, and so on. The connexion, as will presently be seen, has been of various kinds. Sometimes impulsive, sometimes reactionary, yet always historically suggestive. But we anticipate.

The example of Walter de Merton was soon followed by Walter de Stapledon, the ill-fated Bishop of Exeter

who in 1314 founded a college named after his See for the reception of students from the counties of Devon and Cornwall. Stapledon was himself educated at Bologna, and the regulations which he laid down for his college showed many traces of the democratic spirit characteristic of the Italian university. The Rector, for example, was chosen by the students, and for one year only.

Oriel College was founded in 1324 by Adam de Brome, the King's Almoner and Rector of St. Mary the Virgin in Oxford. But a year later he transferred the college to King Edward II, who refounded it in 1326, under Adam de Brome as Provost, and though shortly afterwards the college was again transferred, this time to the Bishop of Lincoln, it was ultimately decided (1726), after prolonged dispute, by the Court of Common Pleas, that the statutes made by Edward II were valid, that the college must consequently rank as a Royal Foundation, and that the Crown, not the Bishop of Lincoln, was the sole Visitor.

Queen's College (1340), like Oriel and Exeter, was modelled upon Merton. Its founder Robert of Eglesfield was Chaplain and Confessor to Philippa, Edward III's queen, to whom he dedicated his foundation. Eglesfield's college was more distinctly ecclesiastical than its predecessors, the Fellows being expressly required to take Holy Orders. Twelve in number they were, with the Provost, to correspond with our Lord and the Apostles. Eglesfield was a north countryman, and in the election to fellowships natives of Cumberland

and Westmorland were to be preferred. The Archbishop of York was to be Visitor. Besides the twelve fellowships provision was made for seventy-two 'poor boys', corresponding in number with the disciples. Systematic instruction was to be provided for the 'boys', whose position, therefore, resembled that of the modern Scholar—as distinguished from the Fellow.

The college system then was rapidly developing, and towards the close of the century it was crowned by the great foundation which owes its being to William of Wykeham. But in the interval between the foundation of Queen's College and that of St. Mary of Winton in Oxford (New College), Oxford had given birth to yet another movement of profound historical significance.

VI

THE LOLLARDS AND ANTI-LOLLARDS

JOHN WYCLIF AND WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM

MUCH obscurity still attaches to the name and career of John Wyclif. Part of the confusion is due to the fact that there are records of a Wyclif in the latter part of the fourteenth century at Merton, at Queen's, and at Canterbury College as well as at Balliol, of which college John Wyclif the Reformer was certainly, for a short time, Master. Whether the records refer to one, or two, or more persons of the same name, the experts have not decided, nor is a decision essential to the purpose of this little book.

The reformer was born, perhaps at Wycliffe-on-Tees, about the year 1328. He studied at Oxford, where he attained great fame as a teacher of philosophy and theology; he was Master of Balliol—not then a post of distinction—about 1358, and in 1362 became Vicar of Fillingham in Lincolnshire and Prebendary of Westbury. He exchanged the former benefice for the living of Ludgershall in Bucks in 1368, and finally became Rector of Lutterworth (1374), where he died in 1384. In 1372 he had taken the degree of Doctor of Theology. So much is certain. Whether this John Wyclif was or was not identical with a Master John Wyclif who appears in the accounts of Queen's College as paying rent for rooms as a pensioner or commoner in 1363-6, 1374-5, 1380-1, is uncertain. [12] Dr. Rashdall answers

the question in the negative; but there is nothing in the dates inconsistent with the known facts of the reformer's life. In 1356 a John Wyclif appears as Steward and therefore Fellow of Merton, and this Wyclif was almost certainly identical with the man who in 1365 was appointed by Archbishop Islip as Warden of Canterbury Hall. The archbishop had founded this hall, a few years earlier, as a place of theological study for a Warden and six Fellows, three of whom were to be monks of Christ Church, Canterbury. In 1365 Islip replaced the monastic warden by a John de Wyclif from the diocese of York, whom Dr. Wells (as against Dr. Rashdall) identifies, very reasonably, with the reformer. In 1367 this Wyclif was dismissed by Archbishop Langham, Islip's successor in the see of Canterbury, and himself a monk, whereupon Wyclif appealed to the Pope, but without success.

We escape at last from the realm of conjecture when in 1374 John Wyclif, indisputably the reformer, was sent on a diplomatic mission to Bruges to treat with the Papal Legates about the vexed question of Papal patronage. It is clear that by this time the Oxford theologian was known also in the great world as a reformer of ecclesiastical abuses and an opponent of Papal pretensions.

England had never submitted too patiently to the claims of the Papacy, to the presentation of Papal nominees to English benefices, and the extraction from England of vast financial subventions. With the growing sense of national unity and national independence

that impatience rapidly increased. The alliance between Henry III and the Papacy had accentuated it. The sentiment developed still more rapidly in the fourteenth century. The fact that the 'Babylonish Captivity' at Avignon (1305-77) covered the earlier period of the Hundred Years' War inevitably intensified the reluctance of Englishmen to pour their money into the coffers of a 'French' Pope, and to admit his nominees to English benefices. The Statutes of Provisors (1351) and Praemunire (1353) were the first of a long series of enactments intended to restrict Papal patronage and the appellate jurisdiction of the Papal Curia. The repeated re-enactment of these statutes is eloquent testimony to the obstinate resistance of the Papacy, a resistance not finally overcome until the legislation of Henry VIII.

Nor was the deepening hostility directed only against the Pope. The national Church shared the unpopularity of the Holy Father. So long as education was confined to clerks it was inevitable that they should monopolize the high offices of State. But the spread of education led to a differentiation of professional avocations. The army, the law, the 'Church' itself were tending to become distinct 'professions'. Clerical monopoly was, therefore, resented. Still more widely resented was the enormous wealth of the clergy, especially of the 'regulars'. Assaults upon ecclesiastical revenues were increasingly common in the fourteenth century, and in 1410 a Bill was actually introduced for the complete disendowment of the Church. The jurisdiction claimed

by the ecclesiastical courts was also a subject of bitter complaint.

Of all these sentiments, anti-papal and anti-clerical, John Wyclif was thoroughly representative. Moreover, he provided the opposition with a philosophical apology. The main thesis of his famous treatise *De Dominio Divino* struck at the root of all claims to privilege based upon authority. Dominion is vested in God. From thence all authority is derived—temporal, no less than spiritual. 'Dominion is founded in grace.' Power, privilege, and property can be justified only by the use made of them.

If Wyclif was not actually an Erastian, he was claimed as an ally by the anti-clerical party in the State, and came into sharp conflict with the highest authorities of the Church. But it is essential to distinguish clearly between two phases and two periods in his career.

In the earlier phase he is a reformer of abuses generally acknowledged; he takes his place with the Grossetestes who, in perfect loyalty to the Catholic Church, wish to see it cleansed of impurities and emancipated from the hindrances to its spiritual activities. In the second, Wyclif's attitude is revolutionary; he assails the fundamentals of the Faith, and anticipates the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century. The Peasant Revolt of 1381 roughly divides the one period from the other, and marks the point where Wyclif ceased to be representative of the nation, and became the leader of a party which was revolutionary and schismatic. But it is dangerous to attempt over-precision in the chronology of his career.

Down to the close of the reign of Edward III (1377), Wyclif, though primarily a 'don', was, in singular measure, representative of the discontent so widely prevalent in the kingdom. Very painful was the contrast between the brilliant success which marked the first half of the reign and the deepening gloom of its close. The king himself was in his dotage: the Black Prince, the hero of Crécy and Poitiers, lay dying; in place of victories came defeats on land and sea; and the southern coast-towns were frequently raided by the French. The great pestilence of 1349 had broken up the old order, and reduced to chaos the whole social and economic system of rural England. The legislature attempted to correct the working of economic law and to fix both wages and prices. It signally failed. The peasantry had lost their land; the lords could not get labour. The Parliament of 1371 sought a scapegoat in the clerical ministry of which William of Wykeham was the head: but the laymen who replaced him proved still less competent; Wykeham was recalled, and in the Good Parliament of 1376 supported the knights when they impeached the corrupt gang headed by Lord Latimer, Lord Neville, a wealthy London merchant named Lyons, and the King's mistress Alice Perrers.

Few men exemplify more aptly the close connexion between Oxford and the broad stream of national history than this great ecclesiastical statesman. A brief summary of his career may therefore be justified. Wykeham was born in the Hampshire village from which he is named, of modest parentage, in the year 1324, and was almost



WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM

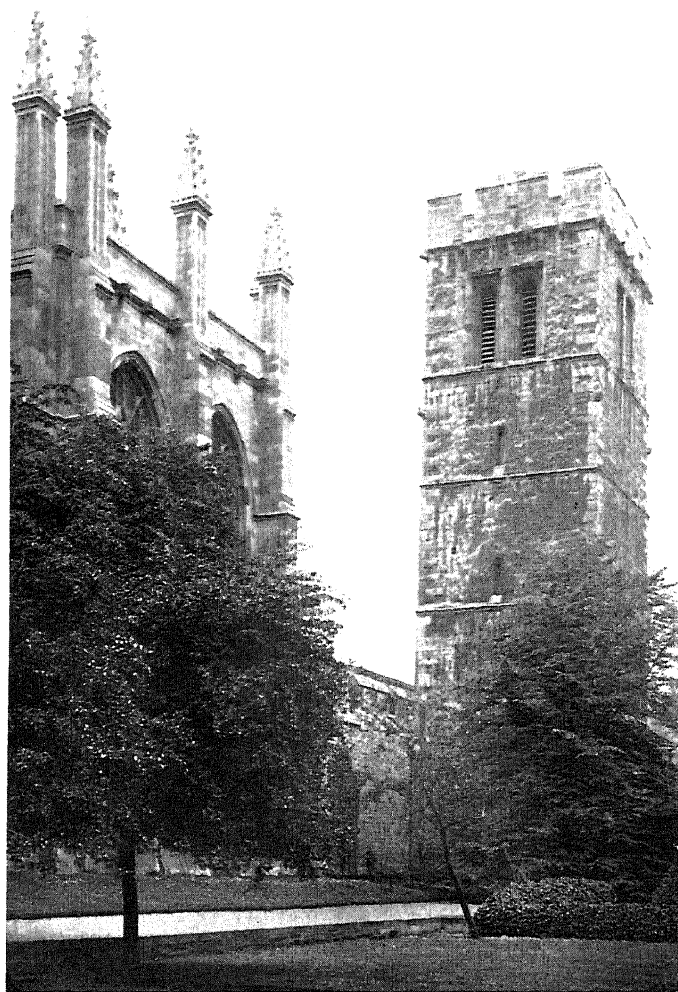
contemporary with Wyclif. Thanks to the help of a discerning patron, perhaps Sir Ralph Sutton, he received a decent education at the Priory School in Winchester, but 'the sole and munificent founder of the two St. Mary Winton Colleges' was not himself a learned nor even a highly educated man. He took minor orders as a youth, and was employed as surveyor and architect by the Sheriff of Hants, and Edington, Bishop of Winchester. Edington brought the brilliant young architect to the notice of the king; he entered the royal service as King's Chaplain, became assistant surveyor of Windsor Forest and gradually rose to be, as we should say, Chief Commissioner of Works. The royal castles of Windsor, Dover, Leeds, and Hadleigh, and all the royal forests south of the Trent were in his immediate charge. He proved himself to be not only an excellent man of business but an architect of rare skill. Windsor Castle, New College, Winchester College, and Broughton Castle attest his genius. [13] He became Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1364 and was rewarded for his services to the Crown by no fewer than eleven prebendal stalls; and finally, in 1367, having taken Priest's Orders in 1362, by preferment to the great see of Winchester. He held the see until his death in 1404.

In 1368 he became Chancellor. 'At that time', writes Froissart, 'there reigned a priest in England called Sir William de Wican, who was so much in favour with the King that by him everything was done, and without him they did nothing.' That was true; but in 1371 the anti-clerical feeling in Parliament was so strong that

Wykeham was driven from office, and being afterwards (1376) accused not merely of 'misgovernment', but of malversation, was deprived of all his 'temporalities', and forbidden to come within twenty miles of the court. Amply were John of Gaunt and his friends revenged on the late Chancellor. Just before King Edward's death, however, Wykeham recovered his 'temporals, the use of his Castles and manor houses', and on the accession of Richard II he received a general pardon. He was appointed to serve on various commissions during the next few years, notably on the Commission of Regency in 1385, and when in 1389 Richard II resumed the reins of power he insisted on having Wykeham as his Chancellor. Having set his young master on the right path, Wykeham resigned in 1391, and for the remaining years of his life devoted himself to the work of his see, and to watching over his infant colleges in Winchester and Oxford.

Wykeham may perhaps be described as the first great leader of the Conservative Party. He was no reactionary, nor was he a revolutionary. He discerned not less clearly than Wyclif the evils of the times; but as an instrument of reform he preferred the pruning-hook to the axe. He did not hesitate to divert ecclesiastical property from one pious use to another, but he would never have condoned a general scheme of secularization.

He clearly perceived that the day both of monks and friars was past, and that what the country needed was a goodly 'supply of fit persons for the service of God in Church and State'. In particular he was deeply



BELL TOWER AND CHAPEL OF NEW COLLEGE WITH
A PORTION OF THE CITY WALL

concerned at the deficiency of parish priests caused by the ravages of the Black Death. The primary purpose of his colleges was to make that deficiency good.

He began with the Oxford college. As early as 1369 Wykeham began purchasing land from various owners in the north-eastern corner of the city, and before he commenced building he had collected a band of seventy poor scholars whom he lodged out in various halls under the charge of a warden. Similarly, he had engaged a master to teach a number of poor boys at Winchester. His plans were interrupted by his prosecution and loss of fortune in 1376, but were resumed in 1378. King Richard II issued a patent for the foundation of the new college in 1379: building was begun in the following year, and on April 14, 1386, the Warden and Fellows took formal possession of their new home.

The foundation of the New College is generally accepted as marking an epoch in the development of the college system. In scale and splendour of buildings, in completeness of equipment, in munificence of endowment, in the adoption of a tutorial system, there had been nothing like it before. The suppression of religious houses to provide funds for the new foundation set a precedent followed by Waynflete, Chichele, Henry VI, and Wolsey. The organic connexion between a college at Oxford and a great school in another city was among the new features which subsequent benefactors sought to imitate. But the significant feature of Wykeham's work is that a statesman of the first rank, on careful consideration of the state of the country and with the

specific object of providing for national needs, deliberately decided that a twin educational foundation was the best use to which he could devote the wealth that had come to him and which he administered in the true spirit of a trustee. All these things combined to give to the two St. Mary Winton Colleges a unique place in the history of higher education.

Oxford and the Lollards.

The foundation of New College coincided with the turning-point in the career of Wyclif. Between the great schoolman and the great statesman there was little in common. But if Wyclif had confined himself to an attack upon practical administrative abuses, upon Papal pretensions and clerical immunities, Wykeham could not have opposed him. Thus far Wyclif had the sympathy and support of the whole nation. It was a very different matter when he proceeded to assail the primacy of the Pope and the fundamentals of the Catholic Faith. The attack upon Transubstantiation, upon the apostolic claims of the priesthood, alienated the great body of his supporters. The Peasant Revolt of 1381 frightened all the propertied classes.

How far Wyclif's teaching had actually contributed to that insurrection is a disputed point. That many of his 'poor priests' sympathized with the class from which they were mostly drawn is certain. If the communistic teaching of John Ball and other leaders was not wholly responsible for the reaction against the Lollard movement, it was undoubtedly contributory. Luther's attitude

towards the German communists, a century and a half later, was almost certainly due to an apprehension lest his movement should be shipwrecked on the rock which had proved fatal to Wyclif.

Neither with Protestantism, in a doctrinal sense, nor with communism, could Wykeham sympathize. One of the primary objects of his foundations was to provide a supply of parish priests, equipped with the only weapon which could in the long run successfully combat heresy, ecclesiastical or economic.

The two St. Mary Winton Colleges have not failed to fulfil the founder's purpose. Archbishop Chichele and Bishop Waynflete were both Wykehamists, and the statutes of All Souls and Magdalen prove their loyalty to the Wykehamical ideal.

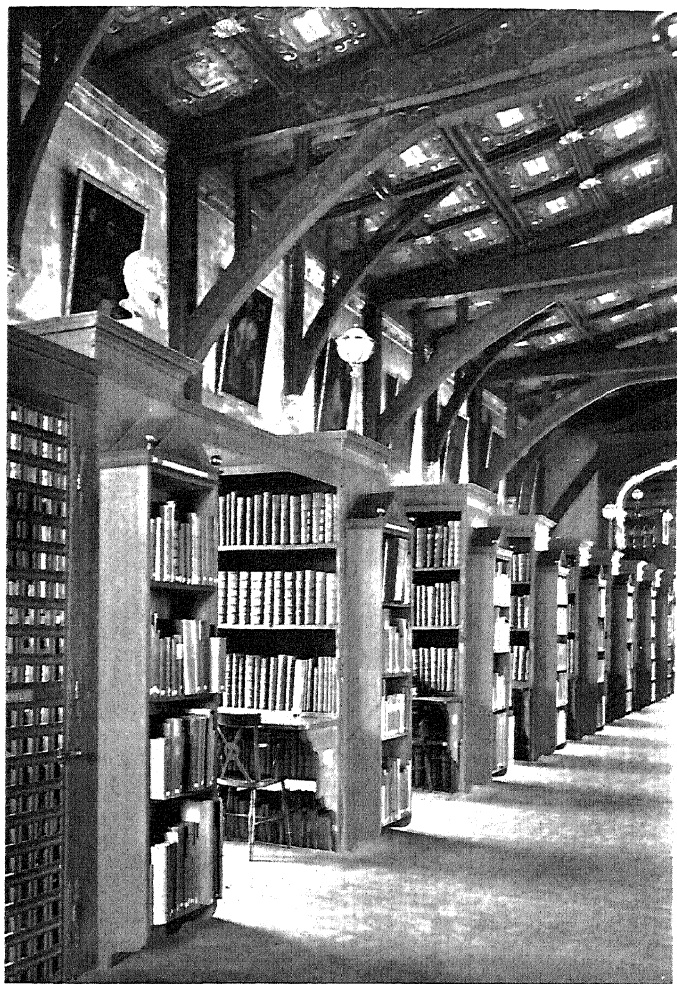
Meanwhile, Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, had founded his 'little college of theologians' named after his own see, with the express object of defending 'the mysteries of the sacred page against these ignorant laics who profane with swinish snouts its most holy pearls'. Lincoln College was founded in 1429, in the high tide of the anti-Lollard reaction.

Down to 1378 Oxford had been whole-hearted in support of its greatest teacher. Wyclif found support also among the highest in the land. When in 1377 he was summoned to appear before Convocation to answer charges of heresy, John of Gaunt and Henry Percy stood by his side in St. Paul's and defied the Bishops. A Papal Bull addressed in the same year to the Chancellor of Oxford was equally ineffectual in silencing Wyclif.

He sent forth his 'Poor Priests' to preach the new Gospel; he disseminated the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and in 1380 (if not earlier) he definitely assailed the doctrine of Transubstantiation. In 1382 a Church Council at Blackfriars condemned his heresies, and, though abstaining from violent measures against Wyclif personally, invoked the aid of the Crown to root out the 'damnable' heresy.

Hitherto the University, with Robert Rygge its Chancellor at its head, had refused, at the bidding of the bishops, to silence Wyclif and his disciples. But in July 1382, on the peremptory orders of the Crown, Wyclif and his followers were not merely silenced but expelled from the University and the city. Wyclif withdrew to Lutterworth, where in 1384 he died.

Meanwhile, Archbishop Courtenay, in order to signalize and confirm his victory, summoned a Convocation to Oxford in November 1382. Wyclif's principal lieutenants made their submission to the bishops, and the University at large accepted the yoke which Church and State, in alliance, imposed upon it. Wyclif had gone too far and too fast. Reaction was inevitable. But Lollardry, though repudiated by the University, struck roots in certain parts of England: in London, in Leicestershire, and in one or two counties in the west. The persecutions carried out remorselessly under the Lancastrian kings effectually silenced the 'poor preachers' and drove such remnants of Lollardry as survived underground. Evidently it had not had any general hold upon the country. But the fire lighted by Wyclif



DUKE HUMPHREY'S LIBRARY

smouldered here and there until the embers were again stirred under Edward VI.

For the University the fifteenth century was a period of decadence. It settled down into intellectual torpor; its students dwindled in numbers; out of 200 'schools' only 20 were in use in 1450; its Chancellor ceased to be resident. The decline in numbers may have been partly due to the more rigorous discipline imposed upon students; to the institution of matriculation (1420); [14] to the prohibition of residence except under graduate Principals approved by the University (1432); but other causes were operating to its detriment: notably the renewal of the French war under Henry V, and the social disorders which culminated in the Wars of the Roses.

Nevertheless the University was more and more attracting the munificence of benefactors, and was enriched by buildings of ever-increasing beauty and splendour. In 1320 Bishop Cobham built on to the Church of St. Mary's the Old Congregation House, which not only served as a meeting-place for the rulers of the University, but housed the first University Library. Duke Humphrey's splendid gift of books necessitated further library provision, and in 1488 the library which bears his name was opened. The Divinity School was opened in the following year. All Souls College was founded in 1437 as a Chantry by Archbishop Chichele to commemorate those who had fallen 'in the wars for the Crown of France'. The foundation of Magdalen College belongs to the same century, but to a wholly different epoch in the history of Oxford, of England, and,

indeed, of the world. Chichele's Chantry was medieval in purpose and conception. Waynflete's splendid Foundation, on the other hand, is the first of the colleges which testify to the working of that new leaven which characterized the movement known as the Renaissance.

VII

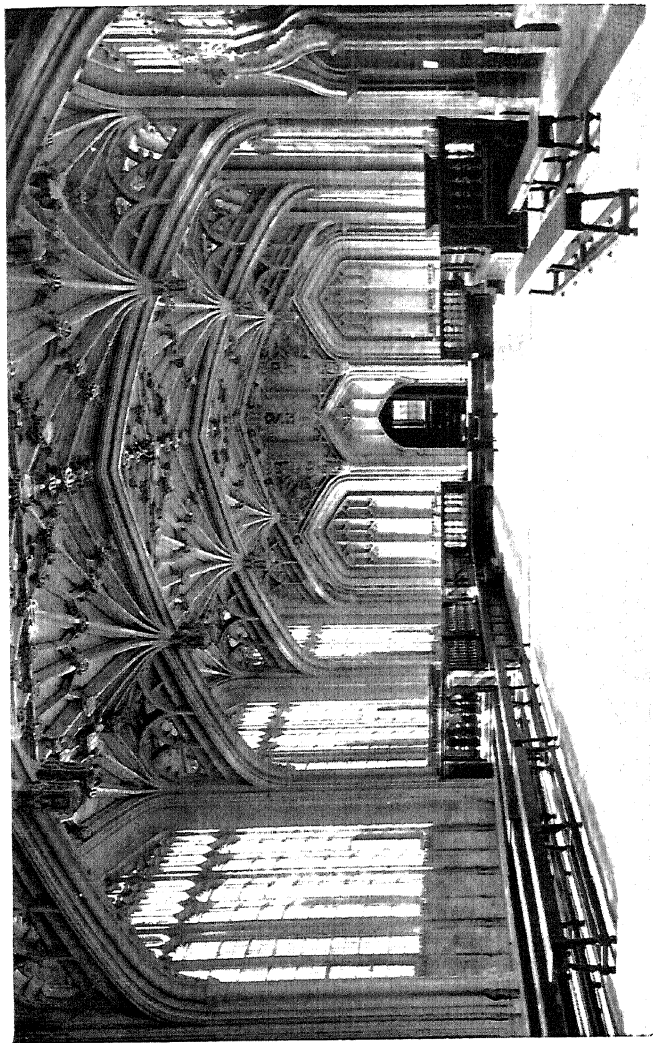
THE NEW LEARNING

AT no period in its long history has Oxford exercised a more important or more beneficent influence upon the life and thought of England than during the last years of the fifteenth and the earlier years of the sixteenth century. During those years she could boast a group of students and teachers as notable as any that have conferred distinction on the University, and bestowed rich gifts upon the nation. William Grocyn of New College (1446-1519), William Latimer (1460?-1545) and Thomas Linacre (1460?-1524), Fellows of All Souls College, John Colet (1467-1519) and William Lily (1468?-1522) of Magdalen, Erasmus (1467-1536), and Thomas More (1478-1535), a student at Canterbury College and a pupil of Grocyn's—these men, with others like Richard Foxe and Hugh Oldham the founders of Corpus Christi College (1516), were in the forefront of that great intellectual and religious revival which was of all Oxford movements perhaps the most characteristic and not the least fruitful.

The Oxford Renaissance only reflected, of course, the wider movement which was at that time dominating western Europe; but in Oxford the movement followed a course which gave to it a character peculiarly its own. The *Renaissance* (to use the time-honoured description) meant much more than the rebirth of learning, literature, and art. The European conquests of the Ottoman Turks, which finally extinguished the Eastern Empire

and scattered the scholars from Constantinople; the great geographical discoveries of Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama, of Columbus and the Cabots; the invention of printing and of the mariner's compass—these things proclaimed the advent of a new era in world history. The lands bordering on the Mediterranean lost the pre-eminence which for thousands of years they had enjoyed: leadership in politics and trade passed to the countries which looked out upon the ocean. An after-glow still rested, indeed, on the Italian cities which nursed Machiavelli, Ariosto, and Tasso, Michel Angelo and Raphael, Titian, Leonardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto, Tintoretto and Paul Veronese. But there were rivals even to these giants. Germany had her Holbeins and Dürers, her Reuchlins, and Ulrich von Hutten, her Melanchthons and Luthers; Spain her Valesquez, her Calderon and Cervantes; France produced Ronsard and his companions of the *Pléiade*, Montaigne and Rabelais. And these names are but samples.

Oxford, however, the home of the English Renaissance, had its distinctive contribution to make to this great awakening of the human intellect. The manifestation of the new spirit was infinitely various in different countries. In Italy, for instance, it was frankly pagan. There the emancipation of man from medieval shackles meant not ordered liberty, but deplorable licence. 'The educated classes', as J. A. Symonds wrote, 'lost their grasp upon morality. The Christian virtues were scorned by the foremost actors and the ablest thinkers of the times, while the antique virtues were themes for



THE DIVINITY SCHOOL.

rhetoric rather than moving springs of conduct.' In Oxford it was otherwise. There, more definitely than elsewhere, the revived study of Greek was associated with new methods of Biblical criticism, and with a fresh and vigorous impulse to religious education.

New College was the earliest centre of Greek teaching in Oxford. Thomas Chaundler, Warden of Wykeham's Foundation from 1454 to 1475, was himself a scholar of distinction, and he it was who brought into the college the Italian scholar Vitelli, who was the first man to teach Greek in Oxford. William Grocyn, who went up from Winchester to New College in 1465 and was the first English teacher of Greek, was Vitelli's pupil, and the teacher of other famous humanists such as Thomas Linacre, William Latimer, and John Colet. From 1481 to 1488 Grocyn was lecturer in Divinity at Magdalen, and then went off to Florence to study at the fountain head. 'I well remember', wrote Latimer to Erasmus, 'how Grocyn a man of varied learning and a large and cultivated intellect gave his entire attention for two continuous years to the same literature (i.e. Greek), and how he studied under those greatest of teachers Chalcondyles and Politian.' When Erasmus himself arrived in Oxford in 1497 he found Grocyn, Latimer, and Linacre all giving public lectures in the University. Grocyn's influence was indeed pre-eminent. Erasmus writes of him as 'the patron and preceptor of us all', and Thomas More wrote in 1504 to Colet: 'in your absence Grocyn is the master of my life'. Grocyn it was who struck the keynote of the Oxford Renaissance, insisting

on the interdependence of exact scholarship, Biblical Exegesis and sound religious teaching. 'To put the sacred Scriptures before the world in their original tongue, that', wrote Grocyn, 'was a divine work—a most arduous work, and one most worthy of a Christian man'.

But the outstanding figure in this remarkable group was that of Grocyn's most illustrious pupil, John Colet. The eldest son of Sir Henry Colet, a wealthy merchant and twice Lord Mayor of London, John Colet was educated (like his friend Thomas More) at St. Anthony's Hospital, Threadneedle Street, whence he proceeded to Oxford, probably to Magdalen.

The foundation of Magdalen College in 1457 marked the transition from the medieval and reactionary, as embodied in Lincoln and All Souls Colleges, to the Humanist spirit exhibited in the statutes of Corpus Christi College (1516). Its founder William of Waynflete (1395-1486) was almost certainly one of the earlier scholars educated on Wykeham's twin foundations, and in 1428 became Head Master of Winchester. Twelve years later Henry VI appointed him to be the first Head Master of the college which he founded at Eton on the model of Winchester, and in 1443 he became its Provost. Later, like his master Wykeham, Waynflete combined the bishopric of Winchester with the chancellorship, and, following the same good example, decided to devote the wealth derived from his various offices to the foundation of the college which Anthony Wood described, not unjustly, as 'the most noble and rich

structure in the learned world'. The Eton lilies in the Magdalen arms recall its founder's connexion with Henry VI's foundation.

In several directions Waynflete developed the ideas of Wykeham. Thus he provided a grammar master and usher for the boys who were to be admitted to the college at the age of twelve, and as *demies* were to receive *half* the allowance of the Fellows. He also founded lectureships in Theology, Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, and in Natural Philosophy. The lectures were to be open to the whole University, and the bachelor members of Corpus were compelled to attend them at the wholesome hour of 6 a.m., a regulation doubtless due to the fact that Richard Foxe was himself educated at Magdalen.

To Magdalen, twenty years later than Foxe, Colet was sent, and there (to quote his friend Erasmus), 'he diligently mastered all the philosophy of the Schools and gained the title expressive of a knowledge of the seven liberal arts. Of these arts (i.e. the *Trivium*—Rhetoric, Grammar, Logic, and the *Quadrivium*—Music, Geometry, Arithmetic, and Astronomy) there was not one in which he had not been industriously and successfully trained, for he had both eagerly devoured the works of Cicero and diligently searched into those of Plato and Plotinus: while there was no branch of mathematics that he left untouched.

'After this,' adds Erasmus, 'like a merchant seeking goodly pearls, he visited France, and then Italy,' where 'he gave himself up to the study of the Holy Scriptures after spending some time in the study of the Fathers, more particularly Dionysius, Origen, Ambrose, Cyprian, and

Jerome, while not neglecting the Schoolmen, Scotus, Aquinas, and the rest, nor the writings, for which he had curiously little liking, of Augustine. He also acquired much knowledge of the classics, and of Civil and Canon Law.'

But all his learning was acquired, Erasmus insists, with one supreme purpose, to prepare himself for the work of the ministry, for the preaching of the Gospel of Christ.

It is probable that most of Colet's sojourn in Italy was spent in Florence. It is certain that his own lectures and sermons bear ineffaceable traces of the influence of three great Florentines of that day—Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and above all of the great Prior of San Marco, Girolamo Savonarola. A sojourner in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century saw the Roman Church at the lowest point of worldliness and degradation. The Papacy was in the hands of Rodrigo Borgia (Alexander VI, 1492–1503), truly described as 'the most wicked and profligate Pope that ever polluted the Chair of St. Peter'. If Colet did not (as is probable) actually hear the sermons in which Savonarola denounced the evils of the time, it is certain, as a high authority mentions, that he was

'Savonarola's spiritual disciple. You cannot read the sermons of the two men without being struck by their close and intimate resemblance. Their principles are identical—reform without revolution, loyalty to the idea of the Catholic Church, unrelenting warfare alike against worldly ecclesiastics and selfish ambitious tyrants, devotion to the scriptures, Puritan morality.' (W. H. Shaw.)

Soon after Colet's return from Italy he resumed his



TOWER OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN COLLEGE

residence at Oxford (c. 1496), and there 'he publicly and gratuitously expounded', says Erasmus, 'all St. Paul's Epistles'. Many of those lectures have fortunately been preserved, and made accessible by the pious labours of the late Mr. Lupton, Surmaster of Colet's own school. To say that those lectures marked an epoch in the history of English scholarship, of Biblical Exegesis, of the English Church, of the English Universities and of the English people, would be an absurd understatement.

The lecturer was a young man, barely thirty, who had not yet taken a degree in Divinity, fresh from contact with the greatest exponents of the 'new learning', but himself possessed with love and reverence for the old Faith.

The lectures were delivered, contrary to the usual practice, without fee or reward, and drew crowds of listeners, not young students only, but Abbots and Heads of Houses, Doctors of Divinity and Law, who came not once but time after time, and (as Erasmus adds) 'brought their note-books with them'.

During the next eight years Colet continued to lecture on the Pauline Epistles and on the Mosaic Cosmogony. His handling of the sacred text, as revealed in the fragments that have survived, though entirely reverent, was at once a revelation and a revolution. Hitherto Oxford teachers had tenaciously adhered to the old scholastic methods of exposition. They interpreted the Scriptures 'sentence by sentence', and 'word for word'. The Bible, as an acute critic has said,

'had become an arsenal of texts and these texts were regarded as detached invincible weapons, to be legitimately seized and wielded in theological warfare for any purpose to which their words might be made to apply without reference to their original meaning or context' (Seebohm).

Colet's method was wholly different. He anticipated the 'Higher Criticism' of to-day. In place of the time-worn scholastic teaching, with its dry formalism, its narrow pedantry, he adopted the 'historical method', bringing home to his hearers the person, character, and environment of St. Paul, and the circumstances of the people at Rome, Corinth, or Ephesus, to whom his letters were addressed. As regards the Old Testament he adopted the doctrine of 'accommodation', or, as modern critics would call it, 'progressive revelation'. The world was in its infancy; revelation, therefore, was 'accommodated' to the minds of children. The Mosaic account of the Creation was not strong meat for adults but 'milk for babes'.

'In these matters (as Colet himself put it) regard must be had to condition and strength. . . . It was thus that Moses taught the truth and justice of God, as it was brought down to the level of sensible things, and diluted for the ancient Hebrews. It was thus that Christ taught to the disciples what they were able to bear. It was thus, lastly, that Paul, both gently and sparingly gave to the Corinthians, as it were, milk instead of meat. . . . He spoke wisdom to the perfect, to the imperfect he accommodated as it were foolish, more humble, and more homely things.'

Colet gathered round him at Oxford a band of disciples, foremost among them Thomas More and Erasmus. But the joint work of these 'Oxford Reformers' has been described, once for all, by Mr. Seebohm. Moreover, More belongs not specifically to Oxford but to England; Erasmus of Rotterdam belongs to Europe. Colet himself left Oxford in 1505 on his appointment to the Deanery of St. Paul's, and at St. Paul's he remained until his death in 1519.

With the immense work he did in London this little book is not immediately concerned. His life in London was ordered on the same simple lines as those to which the Oxford teacher had accustomed himself. 'The Dean's table (says Erasmus), which in former days had ministered to luxury under the guise of hospitality, he brought within the bounds of moderation.' His guests were wont to depart 'refreshed in mind as well as in body, and better men at leaving than they came, though with stomachs not overloaded' (*stomachum minime cibis onustum*).

To the pulpit of St. Paul's he gave a new position in the great world. His preaching was marked by the same characteristics as his lectures: by fearlessness, originality, and by insistence on a high level of personal holiness. 'No heresy', he would say with St. Bernard, 'was so pestilent as the evil and wicked life of priests' He preferred continuous courses to single discourses upon isolated texts. 'He would not take (says Erasmus) isolated texts from the gospels or Apostolic Epistles, but would start with some connected subject, and pursue it

right to the end in a course of sermons; for example, St. Matthew's Gospel, the Creed, or the Lord's Prayer.' But above all his sermons were marked by a vivid realization of the person of Christ:

'He set a very high value on the Apostolic Epistles; but he had such a reverence for the wonderful majesty of Christ that the writings of the apostles seemed to grow poor by the side of it.'

In 1512 Dean Colet was appointed by his old friend Archbishop Warham to preach at the opening of Convocation. That sermon has fortunately come down to us intact. Based upon the text 'Be not conformed according to this world but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind', it was a courageous denunciation of corruptions of the Church and the evil lives of the clergy, and an earnest plea for reformation on conservative lines. The feelings of his auditors were so outraged that his Diocesan Bishop, Fitzjames, with two other bishops more foolish than himself, sought to prosecute Colet for heresy, but the Dean took no notice of their folly and Warham quashed the prosecution. A year later, preaching at the Chapel Royal, he boldly denounced the warlike policy of the young king. Henry VIII summoned him to Greenwich. His enemies rejoiced that the day of his humiliation had come. Quite otherwise: after a long private audience in which he was treated with the utmost consideration the king made an emphatic and public declaration: 'Let every one have his own doctor, but this is the doctor for me.'

A third famous sermon was preached in the Abbey at

the installation of Wolsey as Cardinal. It was a scene of pomp and splendour; four archbishops, seven bishops, the great mitred abbots, and all the highest nobles of the land were present. 'Mr. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's made', writes a contemporary, 'a brief collation or proposition'. It was an exhortation to the proud Cardinal to humility and service, to 'execute righteousness to rich and poor, with mercy and truth'.

Colet's preaching was of a piece with his life; but nothing was so characteristic of his life and teaching as the use to which he put the fortune inherited from his father. Like Wykeham and Waynflete he believed that the best days of the monasteries were past; that the tree which had borne the rich monastic fruit was sapless; that its branches were withered. He may well have anticipated the completion of the disendowment process already begun. Anyway, he decided to found a school, 'to the erudition and profite of children; my countrymen Londoners specially'.

The school thus established under the shadow of his own cathedral was on a magnificent scale. Eton and Winchester each had their 70 scholars; St. Paul's was to provide for 153. The school had many novel features. Its government was vested in the London Company of Mercers. 'Over the revenues', says Erasmus, 'and the entire management he set neither priests, nor the Bishop, nor the Chapter, nor noblemen; but married citizens of established repute. And when asked the reason, he said that though there was nothing certain in human affairs, he yet found the least corruption in

them.' The High-master also was to be preferably a layman, and preferably a married man with a large family. The first of a long line of famous High-masters was William Lily, the great grammarian, a Magdalen man and a member of the group to whose work this chapter has been devoted. The scholars were to have, in addition to a thorough grounding in the 'pure truths of Christianity', the best secular education then available. Text-books were then, as always, a difficulty, but Colet himself drew up an 'accidence' which with additions by Erasmus and Lily became known and was for generations used as 'Lily's Grammar'. Erasmus, besides the *Institutum Christiani hominis* wrote no fewer than five other text-books for use in the school. The *proheme* to the *Accidence* is so touching and so characteristic of the gentle spirit of its author as to justify quotation:

'I pray God all may be to his honour, and to the erudicyon and profyt of chyldren my countrie-men, Londoners specyally, whome dygestynge this lytel werke I had alwaye before mine eyen, consyderinge more what was for them than to shewe any grete connynge, wyllynge to speke the thynges often before spoken in suche maner as gladly yonge begynners and tender wittes myght take and conceyue. Wherefore I pray you, al lytel babys, al lytel children, lerne gladly this lytel treatise, and commende it dylygently unto your memoryes. Trustynge of this begynninge that ye shal procede and growe to parfyt lyterature, and cum at last to be gret clarkes. And lyfte up your lytel whyte hands for me, which prayeth for you to God. To whom be al honour and imperyal maieste and glory. Amen.'

It were not possible to find a more faithful portrait of the man than that painted by his own brush—the picture of a strong man making himself for the children's sake weak; for their sake emptying himself; an old man, travel-stained and worn, yet preserving the 'dew of his youth'; a great man learned and renowned, but remaining simple and unspoilt with the heart and feelings of a child.

What was true of Colet was true of the group of which he was the centre. Richly endowed with all the learning and culture of the Renaissance they were simple in their lives. Ardent reformers of practical abuses, they were yet conservative in their instincts and reverent in their attitude towards the past. The idea of schism was abhorrent to them; they would have reformed the Church from within, purged it of all that hindered its sacred mission, but have scrupulously preserved its historic continuity. Tolerant of *opinion*, they were intolerant only of wickedness and vice—and of dogmatic disputations: 'Keep firmly to the Lord's Prayer and the Apostle's Creed', said Colet, 'and let divines, if they like, dispute about the rest. . . . A bad life is the worst heresy.'

'Let us have done', wrote Erasmus, 'with theological refinements. A man is not lost because he cannot tell whether the Spirit has one principle or two. Has he the fruits of the Spirit? That is the question. Is he patient, kind, good, gentle, modest, temperate, chaste? Inquire but do not define. True religion is peace, and we cannot have peace unless we leave the conscience unshackled on obscure points on which certainty is unattainable.'

Such was the spirit and such were the methods of the Oxford reformers. Whether those methods would have availed to work the reformation they so ardently desired, none can say. The world applauds the practical 'success' of a Luther and a Calvin, a Cranmer and a Knox; it records, perhaps regretfully, the 'failure' of an Erasmus and a Colet. Grocyn, Linacre, and Colet were admittedly no failures in the field of learning and education: Oxford recalls few names more honoured. Who shall say that they failed in the sphere of religion? May we not adapt to the Oxford reformers the words used by Principal Tulloch of Lord Falkland and his friends: 'Their minds like all higher minds saw not so much outward as inward change. . . . Their ideas were born out of due time; and the extremes, first of destruction and then of reaction, were destined to run their course. . . . But the seed of wise thought never perishes.' Truly, Colet and his fellow labourers builded better than they knew, better even than the world has understood.

VIII

THE REFORMATION

OXFORD IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

FOR Oxford, as for England at large, the sixteenth century was a period of sharp contrasts and violent oscillations. From men of great learning and gentle piety like Colet, to Thomas Cromwell, the 'hammer of the monks' and the minion of the king who would be Pope; from the Edwardian Protestants to the Marian persecutors; from the Elizabethan 'politiques' to Anglicans and Puritans. So the pendulum swung throughout the century.

The collegiate foundations of the period registered and reflected its movements. About the King's Hall and College of Brasenose, founded in 1509 by William Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln, and Sir Richard Sutton, Kt., there is much that is picturesque but nothing that is historically significant. The new college was evolved in unbroken descent out of an old hall, whose scholars had in 1334 carried off their famous brazen knocker to Stamford. The schismatic adventure was duly punished and repressed, but the memory of their frolic was recalled by a clause in the University Statutes which required every candidate for the M.A. degree to swear that he would neither deliver nor attend lectures at Stamford. [15] The clause was not deleted until 1827.

The rest of the sixteenth-century colleges correspond, in every case, to the national mood of the moment.

Corpus Christi College represents the new birth of learning; Christ Church rises phoenix-like from the ashes of the monasteries; St. John's and Trinity mark the triumph of the Marian reaction; Jesus College and Wadham symbolize the Elizabethan compromise.

Corpus (1516) stands out pre-eminent as embodying the spirit of the Renaissance. Its founder Richard Foxe was, like Wykeham, primarily a statesman—Secretary of State, Lord Privy Seal, and successively Bishop of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester. Like Wykeham he resolved to dedicate the wealth derived from his ecclesiastical preferments to a public purpose. He had planned, perhaps already built, [16] a hall for the reception in Oxford of young monks from St. Swithin's Priory at Winchester. But his friend Bishop Oldham warned him that the monasteries were doomed. 'What, my Lord, shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for a company of bussing monks whose end and fall we ourselves may live to see; no, no, it is more meet that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as by their learning shall do good in the Church and the Commonwealth.' Bishop Foxe assented; Hugh Oldham gave large assistance, and so there came into being the college which has, throughout the ages, been distinguished by its devotion to classical scholarship.

Foxe's object, as stated by himself, was to establish a college wherein, 'as in a hive, the scholars like clever bees night and day may make wax and sweet honey to the honour of God and the advantage of themselves and

all Christian men'. The statutes were carefully drafted to ensure the fulfilment of the founder's purpose, the high efficiency of the teachers and the industry of the scholars. There was to be a Professor of Greek, whose lectures were to be open to the whole University. The Professor of Humanity or Latin was specially enjoined to extirpate all 'barbarism' from 'our bee-hive'. A third professorship was established for Theology, 'the science which we have always so highly esteemed, that this our bee-hive has been constructed solely or mainly for its sake'. Vacations were not to exceed twenty days in the year in the case of the Scholars, nor forty in that of the Fellows, but leave of absence for three years was to be given to one Fellow or Scholar at a time in order that he might study in Italy or some other continental country.

Nobly has Corpus, though one of the smallest of Oxford colleges, vindicated the intentions of the founder. Among its earlier *alumni* were John Jewel, the famous Bishop of Salisbury; Richard Hooker, to whom more perhaps than to any single individual the English Church owes its 'sweet reasonableness' and incomparable sanity; John Reynolds one of the translators of the Authorized Version, which owed to him its inception; and Pocock, a great orientalist, and the first Professor of Arabic. In days more recent men like John Keble and Arnold of Rugby have worthily maintained the traditions of the college and 'done good to the Church and the Commonwealth'.

Geographically and chronologically it is but a short

step from Corpus to the House of Christ. But for Wolsey's sudden fall that House would have been known by the less happy name of Cardinal College. Cardinal, Legate *a latere*, and Archbishop, King's Secretary and Lord High Chancellor, Thomas Wolsey belongs less to Oxford, and more to England and to Europe, than any of his predecessors among Oxford founders and benefactors. With his place in the history of Europe, and his achievements as a diplomatist we are not now concerned. For some inscrutable reason the details of his career are better known to every schoolboy than those of any Lord Chancellor, perhaps of any statesman, in English history. Suffice to say that Oxford recognizes him as in the direct line of succession to Walter de Merton and William of Wykeham, to William of Waynflete and Richard Foxe. It was in 1507 and as Secretary to Foxe, then the chief Counsellor of Henry VII, that Wolsey started his official career. [17] His advancement was remarkably rapid. On the death of Henry VII he passed into the service of his son as almoner; two years later (1511) he was sworn of the Privy Council and for the next eighteen years virtually shared the throne with Henry VIII. 'He rules', wrote the Venetian ambassador, 'both the King and the entire Kingdom. On my first arrival in England he used to say to me "His Majesty will do so and so". Subsequently and by degrees he forgot himself and commenced saying "We shall do so and so". At this present he has reached such a pitch that he says "I shall do so and so".' That was in 1518. Wolsey had succeeded Warham as

Lord Chancellor in 1515; in the same year Pope Leo X sent him a Cardinal's hat, and three years later appointed him Papal Legate *a latere*. Preferments and emoluments poured in upon him: the Deaneries of Lincoln, of Hereford, and of York; a canonry of Windsor; the bishoprics of Tournay, Lincoln, Durham, and Winchester; the archbishopric of York. Not all, but many of these, he held simultaneously, and with fees, presents, and pensions he drew an income estimated in the money of to-day at £350,000 a year.

Much of his wealth was expended in vulgar ostentation; some of it on palatial residences for the erection of which we still thank him; a portion he decided to dedicate, following the splendid example of William of Wykeham, to the foundation of a school in his native town, Ipswich, and, in close connexion therewith, of a college, on a scale of unprecedented magnificence, at Oxford.

To Oxford he owed much and with filial piety desired to repay some portion of the debt. Educated as a boy at Magdalen College, he was, in due course, elected into a Fellowship on that foundation, and, later again, was appointed bursar—doubtless a tribute to his remarkable and precocious aptitude for business—and Master of the College School. In providing an endowment for Cardinal College he not only drew on his own immense resources, but, again following the precedent set by Wykeham, suppressed many of the smaller religious houses and imposed heavy fines on others. Pope Clement VII, while issuing Bulls to Wolsey for such

purposes, warned him to proceed cautiously, and 'for God's sake to use mercy with those Friars, saying that they be as desperate beestes past shame that can lose nothing by clamours'. The king was more outspoken, and warned Wolsey that rumours prejudicial to his honour and even to his honesty were current. 'They say', he wrote, 'not that all that is ill gotten is bestowed upon the college but that the college is the cloak for covering all mischiefs'. Wolsey reassured the king; but the process proceeded.

Wolsey, as already indicated, was following good precedents. That the monastic system had, in its prime, conferred immeasurable benefits upon mankind no reader of Carlyle's *Past and Present*, or of the *History* and the *Essays* of Froude (to go no further) can doubt. But their prime was past. The impulse that led men to pour wealth into the hands of monks and friars was spent. The growth and decline of the movement can be most briefly illustrated by a few statistics. Some 330 houses were founded in England before the Norman Conquest; 70 during the reigns of William I and II; but the movement reached its zenith in the twelfth century, when no fewer than 440 monasteries were founded. The thirteenth century yielded only 152, but the decline in monastic foundations was compensated by the growth of friaries, of which 144 were founded in the thirteenth century and 448 in the fourteenth. By that time the monastic movement had evidently spent its force, though 16 new houses were founded in the fourteenth century, and 8 in the fifteenth. Not only had the force

of the movement evaporated; the attack upon the system had already begun. Many 'alien' priories were suppressed by John, Edward I, and Edward III, and all those which survived by Henry V. Nor was it laymen only who perceived that the day of the monasteries was past. Great ecclesiastics, as we have seen, had diverted their wealth to the purposes of education. Thus when Thomas Cromwell was commissioned by Wolsey to 'visit' the monasteries, only about half the houses originally founded remained to be dissolved. Had Wolsey lived and regained power it is possible that many of the scandals connected with the final suppression of the religious houses would have been avoided, and that the wealth derived therefrom would have been applied not only (as it partially was by Henry VIII) to the endowment of new bishoprics, but to other and not less appropriate objects. But neither Wolsey nor any one else could have permanently obstructed a comprehensive measure of disendowment and disestablishment.

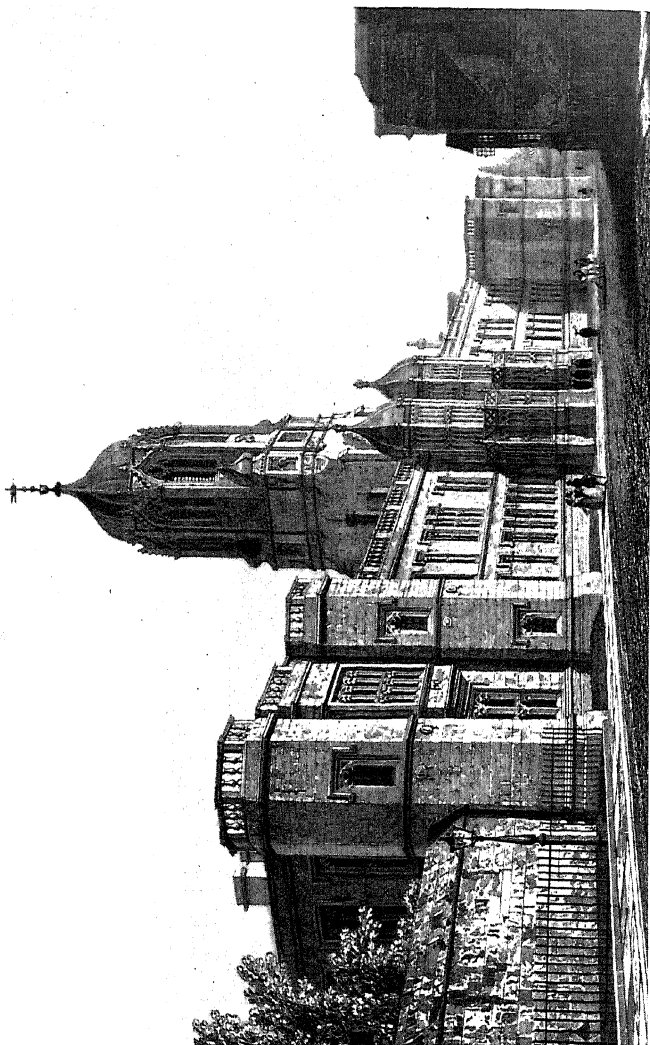
As things were, the Universities themselves were lucky to have escaped the wicked and wastefully destructive hand of Thomas Cromwell. Oxford, in particular, though it has never ceased to deplore the scandalous demolition of its great abbeys of Osney and Rewley, found some compensations. Not only does it owe at least four of its wealthiest and most magnificent colleges, and five Regius Professorships—in Hebrew, Greek, Theology, Medicine, and Civil Law—to diverted endowments, but it was one of the six cities selected by Henry VIII for the seat of new bishoprics. The

bishopric, founded in 1542, was at first associated with Osney, but the stool was transferred in 1546 to the chapel of Henry's new House of Christ, which was thenceforward to occupy the unique position of College Chapel and Diocesan Cathedral combined.

Wolsey's original design for his Cardinal College was on a scale of unprecedented grandeur: a Dean and sixty Senior Canons were to form the Corporation, and in addition, provision was made for forty Petty Canons, forty-two servants of the Chapel, six Public Professors, and other members of the teaching and administrative staff. St. Frideswide's Priory was absorbed, and much of the rebuilding was begun, the kitchens and noble hall being completed before Wolsey's fall (1529). He 'gathered into that College', as Foxe says, 'whatsoever excellent thing there was in the whole realm'.

After Wolsey's disgrace and dismissal, Henry VIII stopped all work on the College, but, after a half-hearted attempt to resume it in 1542, he finally resolved (1546) to combine the new bishopric with a great college, which should bear, not his name nor Wolsey's, but that of the Founder of Christianity. Apart from the sums spent on buildings—Wolsey in one year spent £100,000 in modern reckoning—the endowment was the equivalent to some £25,000 a year in our money.

Oxford, however, as already mentioned, had had a narrow escape. In 1535 Oxford was 'visited' by Cromwell's commissioners with his principal agent, the notorious Dr. Layton, at their head. Layton claimed, not perhaps unjustly, to have improved teaching



THE WEST FRONT OF CHRIST CHURCH, WITH TOM TOWER

facilities and abolished many useless anachronisms. 'We have', he wrote to Cromwell, 'set Duns Scotus (Dunce) in Bocardo (the common gaol) and have utterly banished him from Oxford for ever with all his blind glosses'. Seemingly the 'greedy gripers' (as Holinshed calls them) would have gone much further in the work of destruction had not the king himself vetoed their proposals:

'Ah Sirrah,' Henry is reported to have said, 'I perceive the abbey lands have fleshed you and set your teeth on edge to ask also those colleges. And whereas we had a regard only to pull down sin by defacing the monasteries, ye have a desire also to overthrow all goodness by subversion of colleges. I tell you, sirs, that I judge no land in England better bestowed than that which is given to our Universities, for by their maintenance our realm shall be well governed when we be dead and rotten. As you love your welfare, therefore, follow no more this view, but content yourselves with that you have already, or else seek honest means whereby to increase your livelihood, for I love not learning so ill that I will impair the revenues of any one house by a penny.'

The 'greedy gripers' were thus momentarily cheated of their prey, but they renewed the attack on the Universities under Edward VI, only to be again repelled by the Protector Somerset, who warned them that the appetite for spoliation would not be sated by the spoils of Corporations, and that private property would not be much longer safe: 'bishops, rich farmers, merchants and the nobility shall be assailed by such as live to spend all

and think that what soever another man hath is more meet for them and to be at their commandment, than the proper owner that hath sweat and laboured for it.'

Notwithstanding the sound economic sentiments to which he then gave utterance Somerset had in 1549 appointed a Second Royal Commission to visit the Universities.

Down to this time the Reformation had not involved any conspicuous changes (with the big exception of the dissolution of the monasteries) in the habits and life of the University, or of the nation, or in the services of the Church. Until Whit Sunday 1549 when, for the first time, Cranmer's new Liturgy was used in all churches, ordinary folk can hardly have realized that there had been a 'Reformation'. The issue of the *Ten Articles* in 1536 and the publication in the same year of an English version of the Bible had doubtless foreshadowed an intention, on the part of the English reformers, to follow in the steps of Luther; but it was quickly frustrated. Three years later the *Act of the Six Articles* practically reaffirmed in all essentials the Catholic doctrine and practice: Transubstantiation, clerical celibacy, private masses, auricular confession, the refusal of the Cup to the laity, and the perpetual obligation of vows of celibacy.

Thus, the net result of the Reformation as effected under Henry VIII was simply to purge the English Church of its foreign elements, to repudiate the supremacy of the Pope, to abolish many practical abuses connected with ecclesiastical courts, clerical dues, and

privileges, and to confirm the Crown in the headship of an independent branch in England of the Catholic Church. Catholic doctrine was untouched and, apart always from the vast economic and social changes ultimately arising from the dissolution of the religious houses, there was little interruption in the habits and usages of ordinary Christian folk.

Far otherwise was it under Edward VI. The changes embodied in the *First Act of Uniformity* and the *First Prayer Book* of 1549 were relatively moderate; but the Second Act of 1552 and the *Second Prayer Book* marked a complete breach with Catholic doctrine and usage; there seemed every prospect that the English Church would become Zwinglian if not Calvinist. The sudden death of Edward VI (1553) arrested further progress in that direction, and under Queen Mary there was a complete restoration of Catholic doctrine, ritual, and obedience, though not of the secularized property of the Church.

Had Mary Tudor been content with this measure of restoration the whole future of the English Church and the English people might have been different. A desire for national independence had rallied the nation at large in support of Henry VIII. Protestantism had as yet little hold upon it. But Mary was at once a religious fanatic and an embittered woman. Ardent in her devotion to the Roman Church, she lusted for revenge upon those who had insulted her mother and made her a bastard. Among these Cranmer stood out pre-eminent. For his assent to the succession of Lady Jane Grey he had been

adjudged guilty of high treason, and Mary might have sent him to the block as a traitor. She preferred to burn him as a heretic. Most of the leading Protestants had on Mary's accession fled to the Continent: but a few stood their ground boldly. Among them were Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, Ridley of London, and Latimer of Worcester, besides Cranmer himself. Hooper was burned at the stake in his cathedral city. The story of the other martyrs belongs to Oxford.

Oxford was much more sympathetic towards the Marian 'reaction' than it had been towards the Edwardian 'Reformation'. The Commission of 1549, though restrained as we have seen by the Protector Somerset, from an attack upon the property of the University and colleges, dealt drastically with individual adherents of the older Faith, and, in an attempt to purge the place of all that savoured of superstition, inflicted great damage upon chapels and libraries. Altars, images, and statues were removed or defaced; the magnificent reredos in the chapel of All Souls College was destroyed; and cartloads of priceless manuscripts and missals were consigned to the flames. That some useful reforms were effected by the Commissioners is undeniable. The importation of foreign divines like Peter Martyr certainly stimulated theological study; but, on the whole, the Edwardian movement was inimical to academic activity. There was a marked decline in the number of students, especially among those who were not attached to colleges. The dissolution of the monasteries cut off the main source from

which students had been drawn. Gloucester College naturally shared the fate of the Benedictine Order to which it owed its existence: its chapel and library were reduced to ruins: the 'mansiones' were, indeed, assigned to Bishop King, the first Bishop of Oxford, as his palace, but after the transference of his stool to St. Frideswide's he removed to the stately building which still stands in St. Aldate's,[†] and the college fell on evil days until its refoundation in the eighteenth century as Worcester College. The Cistercian College of St. Bernard and the Benedictine College of Durham were similarly swept away by Henry VIII, but their subversion was merely temporary.

The buildings which had belonged to the Durham Benedictines were purchased in 1555 by Sir Thomas Pope, a wealthy lawyer, who, though a sincere Catholic and high in the confidence of Queen Mary, was a man of liberal sympathies. The Founder's Statutes, in the drafting of which he consulted both Cardinal Pole and the Princess Elizabeth (then under his charge at Hatfield), exhibit an interesting combination of medievalism and modernism; they breathe the spirit not only of Catholicism but of Humanism.

In like manner, and at the same time, St. John's College arose on the ruins of the Cistercian College of St. Bernard. Its founder was Sir Thomas Whyte, Merchant Taylor and Lord Mayor of London. From the first the college has been, to its great advantage, closely connected with the great school in the City maintained by the Merchant Taylors. Whyte, like

Pope, was a man of deep personal piety and warmly attached to the ancient Faith.

Of that Faith Oxford was, during the sixteenth century, the stronghold. It nurtured famous Jesuits like Edmund Campion, a Fellow of St. John's, and William Allen, Fellow of Oriel and Cardinal, but from the days of Warham, the friend and patron of Colet and Erasmus, down to those of Abbot, sometime Master of University College and Archbishop from 1611 to 1633, no Oxford man, except Reginald Pole, was ever appointed to the archiepiscopal see. The exception is as significant as the rule; it shows how strongly Oxford, during the changes and oscillations of the century, inclined to the Catholic side.

It was not, therefore, strange that Oxford should have been the scene of the martyrdoms of the great Protestant prelates who had been nurtured by the sister University of Cambridge. Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley were, on the accession of Mary, deprived of their bishoprics, and with Archbishop Cranmer were imprisoned in the Tower. In 1554 the three 'sons of perdition and iniquity' were sent to Oxford to defend their heresies, if they could, in formal disputation with the learned Doctors drawn from both Universities. The result was a foregone conclusion; and from the Divinity School, where the disputation took place, they were recommitted to prison; there to remain for eighteen months, until the restoration of Roman Catholicism should have been completed by legal process in Parliament.

The Third Parliament of the reign met in November 1554, and by January 1555 its work was done. All the anti-papal statutes enacted since 1529 were repealed and all the medieval laws against heresy were revived. The Pope sent Cardinal Pole as special legate to receive the realm of England back into obedience, and the Parliament knelt at the legate's feet, and received absolution at his hands.

The Queen could now go on her persecuting way rejoicing, without legal let or hindrance. In the course of the remaining years of her reign nearly 300 persons were burnt, mostly in London, as heretics. The Marian persecutions were not, therefore, on a large scale. The deep impression they made was due to the eminence of a few victims, and the heroism displayed by all. Never was the truth of the famous aphorism more conspicuously illustrated: never was the blood of martyrs more effective in winning converts to the cause for which they died.

Of the most famous of the martyrdoms Oxford was the scene. Cardinal Pole lost no time in putting to effective use the instrument Parliament had placed in his hands. In September 1555 he appointed a Special Court to try Bishops Latimer and Ridley; they were condemned on October 1, and on the 16th they were burnt at the stake outside the city wall, perhaps on the spot marked by a cross opposite the Broad Street front of Balliol. The faggots piled round Ridley were damp and would not burn; his sufferings, therefore, were prolonged and agonizing; but the words with which his fellow martyr

comforted him are among the most memorable ever uttered by man and have rung down the ages. 'Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as I trust shall never be put out.' They did.

Cranmer, as an Archbishop who had received the pallium from Rome, was amenable only to the jurisdiction of the Pope. He was tried by Bishop Brookes of Gloucester, as Papal Commissioner, in St. Mary's (September 1555), and his conviction was duly reported to the Pope who (December 4, 1555) pronounced him excommunicate. In the following February he was brought before Bishops Bonner of London and Thirlby of Ely, acting as Papal delegates, in the Cathedral, and was publicly degraded and stripped of all the insignia of his successive orders. But the Queen desired, even more than his death, his humiliation and recantation. No fewer than six recantations were wrung from him; but they availed not to save his life. He was condemned to be burnt on 21 March 1556. But before the burning there was to be a final and formal recantation, in St. Mary's Church.

That historic Church has never witnessed a more dramatic or more memorable scene. Instead of the expected recantation there came from the lips of the old man a passionate prayer to Almighty God for mercy to a 'most wretched Caitiff and miserable Sinner'.

In that prayer his enemies could join, but Cranmer's concluding words, seemingly unpremeditated, certainly unwritten, fell like a bomb-shell on the congregation.

‘Now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did in my life, and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which here I now renounce and refuse as things written by my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death to save my life if it might be, and forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand, therefore, when I come to the fire, shall be the first burnt.’

It was. From St. Mary’s he was hurried to the stake set up on the spot where Ridley and Latimer had suffered; and there, with a prayer on his lips, Cranmer too passed to his rest.

For nearly three more years the persecution went on: but in November 1558 the unhappy Queen died. Within twelve months her Archbishop, Pole, followed her to the grave. At length the tyranny was overpast.

Protestant and Catholic had now had their alternate days of triumph: but the triumph of neither party was specifically English. The zeal of the Edwardian extremists derived its inspiration from Geneva; the fires of Oxford and Smithfield were fed by faggots largely imported from Spain. But these extreme oscillations, though un-English in origin, had a characteristically English effect. They prepared the minds of the English people, always inclined towards the middle path of compromise, for the Elizabethan settlement. That settlement was embodied in the *Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity*. The Papal supremacy was repudiated, but the Crown became not supreme ‘Head’ but supreme

'Governor' of the Church; and to it all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was annexed. The new Prayer Book, the exclusive use of which was enjoined by the *Act of Uniformity*, proved, when published, to be midway in point of doctrine and ritual between the First and Second Prayer-books of Edward VI, or rather it embodied both, leaving a large latitude to the individual worshippers. Thanks to that latitude the Church of England has been able to comprehend in one communion and fellowship persons of widely differing opinions. The continuity of the Episcopate was maintained, narrowly but sufficiently, and in 1571 Parliament set the seal of its approval upon the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion already approved by Convocation in 1562.

The settlement was displeasing, on the one hand, to the considerable body of convinced Roman Catholics who had welcomed the Marian Restoration, on the other to the smaller body of Protestants who desired the abolition not merely of Catholicism but of episcopacy, and would have liked to see England join Scotland in acceptance of the Genevan model. Between the two extremes lay the great mass of the nation.

Oxford was fairly representative of the feelings of the nation, but the settlement led to bitter strife in several colleges, and, in the event, a good many Fellows, nine Heads of Houses, as well as the Dean and two canons of Christ Church, were ejected for refusing to comply with the *Act of Supremacy*. Not a few ardent Catholics found refuge at Douay, where a Catholic Seminary had been lately established; and under the influence of Robert



ARCHBISHOP LAUD



SIR THOMAS BODLEY

Dudley, who from 1564 to 1588 was Chancellor, the University moved steadily towards Puritanism. His Chancellorship was noteworthy in other ways. In 1571 the University was legally incorporated by an Act of Parliament which invested the 'Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars' with the rights of perpetual succession. Five years later an Act 'for the maintenance of Colleges' effected changes in the management of college property so important as to constitute 'a second additional endowment'. Other measures were of more questionable advantage. One transferred the initiative in University legislation from the main body of resident teachers who were wont to meet in the Congregation House, to a Council consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, doctors, and proctors. This change was definitely oligarchical and tended to sacrifice liberty to order, and to make the colleges supreme in the government of the University. About the same time Leicester resumed the right, vested under Edward VI in Congregation, of nominating the deputy or Vice-Chancellor. But perhaps the most important change was the enforcement of 'subscription'. In 1581, and thenceforward for nearly 300 years, every student above 16 years of age was on matriculation required to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles and take the Oath of Supremacy. Intended only to exclude Papists, subscription began, as years went on, to be felt chiefly by Nonconformists, and the University became, more and more, a preserve of the Anglican Church. The effect of these restrictions must be considered in a later chapter. For many years they were

not acutely felt, but they combined with other tendencies to give to the University an increasingly aristocratic character. It never became, as demagogues have falsely asserted, 'exclusively the University of the rich'; but the dissolution of the monasteries, the consequent dwindling in the stream of poorer students, the increasing monopoly of the colleges, combined to alter the social aspect of the University. But, after all, the social aspect of the country at large was changing at the same time: the squires, the lawyers, and the merchants were pushing to the front; the University was but the microcosm of the nation.

In the course of her long reign Queen Elizabeth twice visited Oxford, in 1566 and 1592, and received an enthusiastic welcome both from the city and the University. Shortly after her first visit (1571) she consented to become the 'foundress' of the first post-Reformation college established in Oxford and the only one dating from her reign. But the Queen's connexion with Jesus College was purely honorary; the endowments were provided by a Welsh clergyman Hugh ap Rice, with whose Principality the college has from the first been closely connected.

More notable, however, than the foundation of any college was the establishment of the great library which has taught the whole learned world to revere the memory and praise the munificence of Sir Thomas Bodley. Bodley was a Fellow of Merton, learned in Hebrew and Greek, who became a member of the Queen's household and was employed by her on various diplomatic missions.

Tiring of politics, he resolved, at the age of fifty-three, to 'sette up his staff at the Librarie dore in Oxon'. His noble ambition was (so John Hales declared in his Funeral oration) to 'stay the wreck, drive the waste away . . . and bring back to the Muses whom the savagery of the past had driven into banishment the flow of life and blood and their ancient birthright of a home'. The breach was indeed wide, and Bodley stepped into it. The iconoclastic commissioners sent down by Edward VI had swept Duke Humphrey's Library clean of books and fittings. Bodley not only presented to the University his own collection of manuscripts and books, but built for them a stately home. His friends added to the collection, as did several cathedral Chapters, and in 1602 the new library with its 2,000 volumes was opened in solemn state, and dedicated to the use of scholars for all time.

The opening of the Bodleian, one of the great libraries of the world, fittingly closed that century of academic and national life which coincided with the era of the Renaissance and the Reformation.

IX

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE PURITAN REVOLUTION

ARCHBISHOP LAUD, CHARLES I, AND CROMWELL

THE connexion between the story of Oxford and the history of the English people, extraordinarily close throughout the ages, has at no time been closer than in the seventeenth century. In Oxford we find on all sides visible memorials of some of the greatest men of the century. Take the library and the exquisite garden front of St. John's College. What finer memorial could man desire than that which recalls the name and work of the greatest President of the college, William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor and benefactor of the University? The Theatre is due to the munificence and bears the name of Gilbert Sheldon, like Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Hard by the Theatre is the original home of the University Press, a building erected out of the profits of Lord Chancellor Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion*, and bearing the name of that great historian.

Nor were all Oxford men on the same side in politics. Sir John Eliot, the first leader of the parliamentary opposition, was educated at Exeter; John Pym and John Hampden, leaders at a later stage, were at Pembroke College (then Broadgate's Hall) and Magdalen respectively. William Lenthall, the famous Speaker of the Long Parliament, was educated at St. Alban Hall, sat for

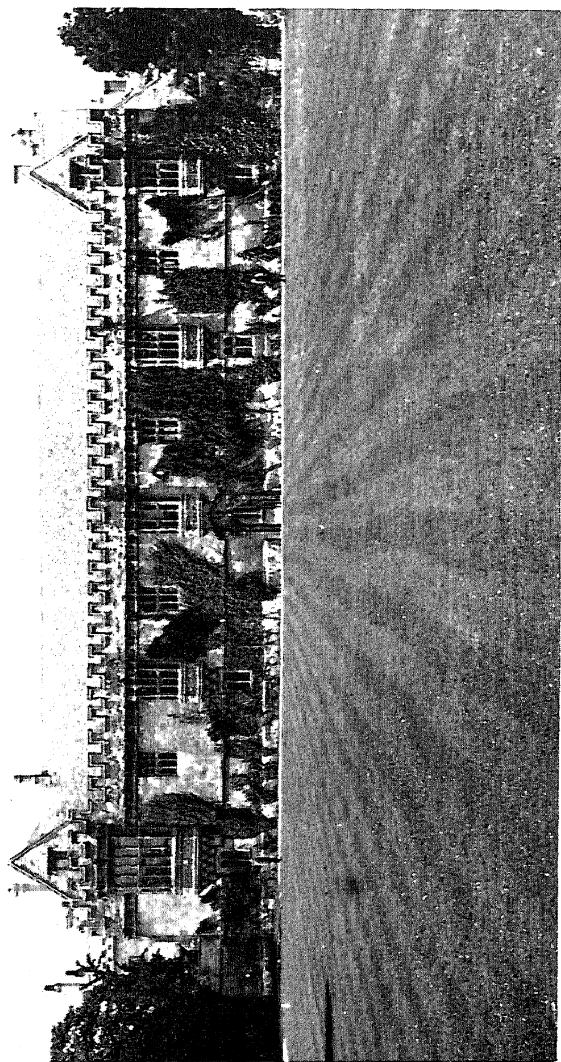
Woodstock, and made his home among the woods of Bessels Leigh. Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, Oxford cannot claim as a son, but that great 'Apostle of moderation' kept open house at Great Tew, and there gathered round him 'the most polite and accurate men of that university . . . Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Earles, Mr. Chillingworth, and indeed all men of most eminent parts and faculties in Oxford besides those who resorted thither from London; who all found their lodgings there, as ready as in the colleges . . .' But what lover of English prose at its best is not familiar with the picture of the *Convivium philosophicum* drawn with incomparable felicity by Clarendon—the picture of a 'university in a less volume', the portraits of the honorary fellows of this 'college situated in a purer air'? Even the slightest sketch of the Oxford of the seventeenth century would be incomplete without a glimpse of Great Tew.

In Oxford itself the period was one of exceptional activity and interest. Splendid buildings arose to give the University added dignity and beauty. To the building of Bodley's Library reference has already been made. The Divinity School, one of the most beautiful buildings in Oxford or in England, dates from the end of the fifteenth century. The rest of the 'new' (now the 'old') schools were begun in 1619, and the Convocation House in 1634.

The botanic or 'physic' garden, the first of the kind in England, was founded in 1632 by Henry, Earl of Danby, on the site of the old Jewish Cemetery. Some

twenty years later the Royal Society was nursed into life by John Wilkins, who had been thrust into the Wardenship of Wadham College by his brother-in-law Oliver Cromwell. The college itself had been founded earlier in the century (1610) on the site of the old Augustinian friary, dissolved by Thomas Cromwell. It is remarkable not only for the perfection of its architecture—the finest example of the late Gothic style in Oxford—but also as claiming a woman as its foundress, though Dorothy Wadham was, to be sure, only fulfilling the intentions of her husband Nicholas. Fourteen years after the foundation of Wadham College, Broadgate's Hall, claimed with doubtful accuracy as the 'oldest of all halls', was expanded into Pembroke College. Its godfather was the Earl of Pembroke, *Maecenas nobilissimus*, then Chancellor of the University; and King James I gladly accepted the honour of 'Founder', though the re-endowment was 'at the costs and charges of Thomas Tesdale Esquire of Glympton in Oxfordshire and Richard Wightwick B.D. Rector of East Ilsley Berks.'

Nor was the period remarkable only for great buildings and collegiate foundations. New professorships to encourage the study of Geometry and Astronomy were founded by Sir Henry Savile who taught Queen Elizabeth Greek and was simultaneously Warden of Merton and Provost of Eton; in Natural Philosophy by Sir William Sedley, and in Moral Philosophy by Dr. Thomas White; in History by Dr. William Camden; in Music by his friend and executor Dr. William Heather



GARDEN FRONT OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE

—all these between 1619 and 1627. In 1632 Laud's influence secured for the University Press its first charter from the Crown. A Press had been set up in Oxford as early as the year 1478, but was suppressed with other provincial presses in 1486, and its continuous life dates only from 1585, when John Barnes, with a loan of £100 from the University, began printing. The work was at first done in hired premises, and then from 1669 in the Sheldonian Theatre, until in 1713 it found a home of its own in the adjacent buildings whence it derives a name renowned throughout the world. In 1830 it was removed to the still more stately though less conspicuous building near Worcester College. There for a full century it has been established.

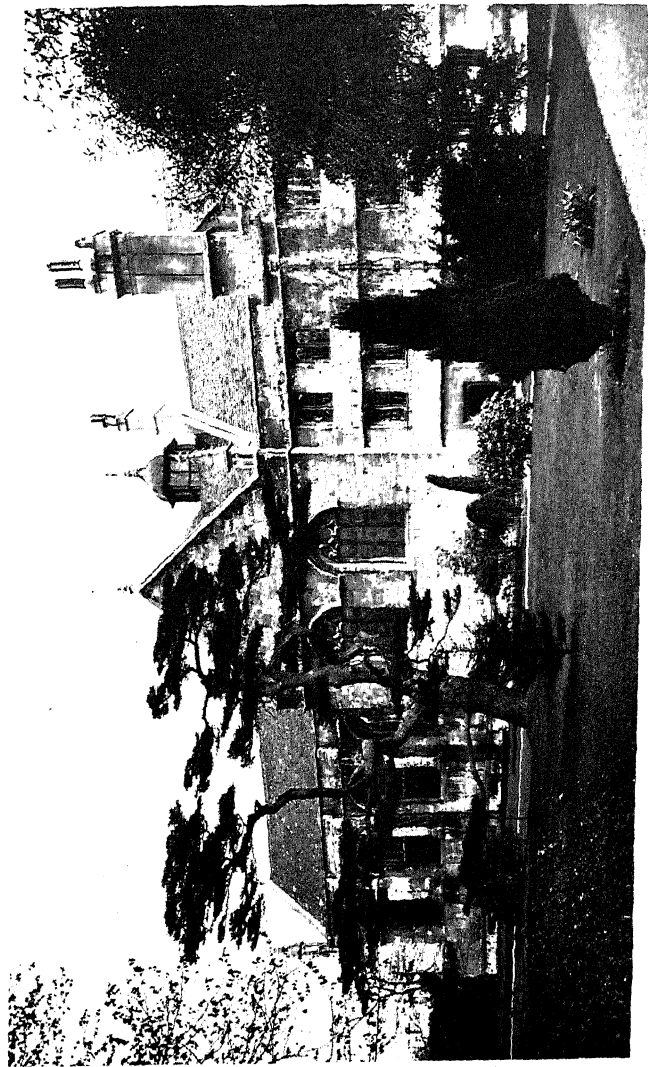
The Chancellorship of Laud.

Laud's reign as Chancellor (1630-41) was not only a very important one in the history of the University, but coincided with one of the most critical periods in all English history. At the time of his election (1630) he was Bishop of London and the most trusted counsellor of Charles I. Three years later he became Archbishop. Educated at St. John's College he had ruled that society as President from 1611 to 1621, and had done much, as already indicated, to enrich and beautify the college. After his appointment to the see of St. David's (1621), and throughout all the remaining years of his busy life, Laud continued his benefactions—chiefly in the form of manuscripts and books both to the college and the University. Even those who like Mr. Goldwin

Smith are most opposed to him in politics and religion, pay tribute to his genuine zeal on behalf of learning and education. Laud was indeed the true progenitor of the 'Oxford Movement' of the nineteenth century; and with another typical son of Oxford, Richard Hooker, the 'judicious' author of *The Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie* (1594), he imbued the English Church with that spirit of reasonable compromise which had been legally stamped upon it by the Elizabethan settlement. As an administrator, as well academic as ecclesiastical, Laud, as has been truly said, was 'not so much a bigot as a martinet'.

From the moment he assumed office as Chancellor, Laud made it clear that he did not regard it as a sinecure. Three things seemed to him essential: close supervision by an outside authority to compose internal quarrels; stricter discipline for the students; and a revision of the statutes. He required the Vice-Chancellor to send him a weekly report on the University; he personally regulated every detail of university life—attendance at sermons and services, the dress and manners of undergraduates, the election of proctors, appointments to benefices, the management of college and university estates, examinations, post-graduate study, and what not. Finally in 1636 he promulgated the code, *Corpus Statutorum*, under which, with a few trifling amendments and additions, the University continued to be governed until the Act of 1854.

Laud's Statutes definitely confirmed the supremacy of the colleges over the University; vested the govern-



WADHAM COLLEGE

ment of the latter in an Hebdomadal Board consisting of the heads of colleges and the Proctors; gave legal effect to Leicester's custom, whereby the Vice-Chancellor was annually nominated from among the heads of colleges by the Chancellor with the assent of Convocation; established a cycle for the election of the Proctors; and regulated the conduct of public examinations.

Never, perhaps, was the University more prosperous than in these years preceding the outbreak of the Civil War. Wood estimated the number of students at 4,000, and though that is doubtless an exaggeration, all contemporary testimony confirms the general impression of well-being, and of fruitful service to the Commonwealth.

James I showed his appreciation of the growing importance of universities, maybe also of their loyal sentiments, by giving them representation in the House of Commons, a privilege not yet submerged, though frequently threatened, by the advancing tide of democracy.

Men of clear brain and wide outlook were, indeed, sorely needed in Parliament. England had reached a critical moment in its political development. The Tudor sovereigns, entrusted by the nation with large powers for the achievement of definite ends, had done their work, sometimes too roughly, but on the whole to the satisfaction of their people. They had brought the country through the perilous waters of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. The dispersion of the Armada indicated that the perils were surmounted and the need for dictatorial powers at an end. Parliament

realized this truth, but was content to let things be, so long as the aged Queen lived. The *Apology* drawn up in the first Parliament of James I makes the whole position clear. The Tudor dictatorship was not to be renewed in favour of the Stuarts. Parliament meant to reassert rights temporarily in abeyance, and perhaps to assert new ones.

Could the process of constitutional development be resumed without recourse to revolution? Could the Crown be induced to realize that the time had come when it must share the Executive with ministers acceptable to Parliament, and prepare to pursue a policy which the legislature could approve and support with adequate supplies? That was, in brief, the political problem bequeathed by the Tudors to the Stuarts.

There was also an ecclesiastical problem. The Reformation had ended in the Elizabethan Compromise. It is not difficult for principals to embody a Compromise in legal forms. It is not easy to give practical effect to it. The religious sentiments of a nation cannot be accurately gauged, except when, as in southern Ireland or among the lowland Scots, they tend towards unanimity. But if the *via media* of Anglicanism was acceptable to the majority of the English people there still remained two minorities, more zealous perhaps than the majority. One minority held that the Elizabethan settlement had departed too far from Rome; the other, that it had not gone far enough towards Geneva. But among the latter, the 'Puritans', there were further divisions. Some Puritans, though holding Calvinistic doctrines, were

ready to tolerate episcopacy, as convenient if not Divinely ordered. Others desired to see the Church not only Calvinistic in creed but Presbyterian in government. A third section was opposed to all authority in Church government, whether that of bishop and priests, or presbyters. To these 'independents' the 'Church' meant the 'Congregation'.

James I had seen more than enough of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and on his arrival in England at once concluded a political alliance with the Episcopalians. 'No Bishop, no King', 'Presbyterianism agreeth as well with Monarchy as God with the devil'. Charles I was a sincere Anglican of the Laudian School. Few people would now endorse Lord Macaulay's hasty judgement and describe Laud as a 'ridiculous old bigot'. But seven years of his rule at Canterbury caused wide resentment at the methods of the martinet. England might possibly have tolerated them; Calvinistic Scotland bristled into armed resistance when Charles and Laud, with immeasurable unwisdom, attempted to impose Anglicanism upon it. The English people refused to fight the Scots on that issue. The King and the Archbishop had to make the best terms they could. But though peace was concluded the Scottish army did not disperse. It formed the household brigade of the Puritan leaders in the Long Parliament. So long as the 'lads about Newcastle sat still', Pym knew that he could meet force with force.

Such was the aspect of public affairs when the Long Parliament met (November 1640). Within a few months

the whole machinery of 'Thorough' was scrapped; Strafford was sent to the block; Laud, after four years' imprisonment in the Tower, shared his fate.

Long before that, the weapon of force had displaced the combat of words. On the question of the 'militia', the control of the armed forces of the Crown, neither side could yield. Ireland was in rebellion. Parliament was anxious to suppress it: but dare not entrust the king with the force necessary for the purpose. On that issue the final breach came.

The king set up his standard at Nottingham on 22 August 1641, but recruits came in slowly. Thence he marched by Chester to Shrewsbury. Encouraged by the response to his appeals in Cheshire and Shropshire Charles resolved to make a dash on London. The Earl of Essex at the head of the Parliamentary army barred his way.

Cavaliers and Roundheads encountered each other on 23 October at Kineton or Edgehill, some twenty-five miles north of Oxford. The battle was confused, and the issue is generally described as doubtful, but the moral effect of the battle was in the king's favour. 'Those', writes the Puritan May, 'who thought his success impossible now began to look on him as one who might be a conqueror and many neuters joined him.' The strategical effects of the engagement were equally unambiguous. Essex had attempted to bar the royalist advance on London: he failed to do so and withdrew to Warwick; the king marched on, captured Lord Say's castle of Broughton, induced the strong garrison of Banbury to surrender, and on 29 October 'found

himself at good ease at Oxford; . . . the only city of England', adds Clarendon, 'that he could say was entirely at his devotion. There he was received by the University to whom the integrity and fidelity of that place is to be imputed with all joy and acclamation as Apollo should be by the Muses'.

The manner of the king's coming is thus related by Anthony Wood, then a boy of ten years old, and a pupil at New College Choristers' School:

'October 29 beinge Saturday, the kinge's majestie, towarde the eveninge, came from Edgehill or Keinton battell and from Banbury-side to Oxford, in at the North Gate on horse back, with his army of foote men; prince Robert, and his brother Maurice, allso the younge prince Charles and his brother the duke of Yorke came in allso: they lodged at Christchurch; the footemen were billeted in and about Oxford. . . . the mayor and townesmen presented themselves to his majestie at Pennillesse bench, and presented him allso with a summe of money, as I heard—the ordinance and great guns were driven into Magdalen college grove, about 26 or 27 peices, with all their carriages. —At Christ-church the Universitie stood to wellcome his majestie.'

From Oxford the king marched to Reading and on 11 November reached Colnbrook, where he met the deputation from Parliament. The tone on both sides was conciliatory; but Rupert was unwilling to forgo, by agreeing to a cessation, the decided military advantage he had obtained. Without regard, therefore, to peace negotiations, he pushed on to and captured Brentwood on 12 November. On the following day he found himself

confronted by a solid phalanx of 24,000 Londoners drawn up on Turnham Green. That shield he could not pierce. London was saved; Rupert was baffled; and the king was compelled to fall back, and by the end of November had taken up his winter quarters at Oxford. For the next four years Oxford was the headquarters of the king and the Court.

Both on strategic and political grounds the choice of Oxford was a wise one. Surrounded on three sides by rivers, with an outer circle of low hills, the city itself was easily defensible. Geographically also it was well placed. Lying just on the line which roughly divided the country of the king from that of the Parliament, it formed, until its surrender on 24 June 1646, the most easterly outpost of the king. It was within easy striking distance of the capital, and in touch with the king's principal recruiting grounds in the north, the west midlands, and the south-west. But for the enormous advantage given to the Parliamentary forces by the command of the sea, the wisdom of the king's choice would have been even more clearly demonstrated. Even as it was, the strategical importance of Oxford is shown by the fact that so many of the battlefields of the first Civil War are within a small radius from the city. Edgehill itself lies just over twenty-five miles to the north; Cropredy a little less; Newbury is twenty-five miles to the south-west; Chalgrove field is ten miles to the south-east; while Oxford itself compelled Essex, at the head of the London trainbands, to deviate to the east on his famous march to the relief of Gloucester in September 1643.

Politically the wisdom of the choice was not less obvious. Oxford not infrequently served as a sort of a relief capital when on sanitary or other grounds it was found desirable to remove Parliament from Westminster. Particularly was this the case in the seventeenth century. There could therefore be no constitutional incongruity in the sight of a Parliament holding its session in the Convocation House or in Christ Church Hall.

The political temper of the inhabitants was dubious. An interesting letter from the City members to Speaker Lenthall (3 September 1642) makes this clear. They reported conferences between the University and City authorities as to whether the City should or should not be fortified; but the general view was that fortifications would be only too likely to invite attack from the one side or the other. 'Some part of the County of Oxford near adjoining, and a great part of the County of Berks' were reported to be 'very well resolved'. The University was predominantly royalist: 'most of the sober and religious gospellers have left the University and most of the gravest citizens have done the like.' That doubtless simplified the situation for the 'dissolute crew' who remained.¹ Nevertheless, the townsmen in the main inclined to the side of Parliament, the University—though not unanimously—to that of the King.

On the eve of the war both sides were naturally anxious to secure the support of the University and the command of the city. Thus on 7 July the king writing

¹ The whole letter—a long one—is well worth reading in Hist. MSS. Comm., 13th Report, App. I.

from York addressed a requisition to the Vice-Chancellor Prideaux for a loan of money. To this appeal some colleges appear to have responded, and Convocation without demur voted away all the reserve funds, amounting to some £800, in Bodley's, Savile's, and the University chests. On learning of this requisition Parliament immediately issued an order declaring it to be illegal, and directed that a strict watch should be kept on all the highways near Oxford; but despite this precaution a substantial sum reached the hands of the King in Yorkshire. In gratitude for this timely assistance Charles issued injunctions to the Commissioners of Array for the county, the High Sheriff, and the Mayor of Oxford, that steps should be taken for the protection of the University. Meanwhile, the University was not slow to realize its dangerous position and to prepare for eventualities.

'Upon the publication', writes Wood¹ (August 1642), 'of his Majestie's proclamation for the suppressing of the rebellion under the conduct and command of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the members of the Universitie of Oxon began to put themselves in a posture of defence, and especially for another reason, which was that there was a stray report that divers companies of soldiers were passing through the country as sent from London by the parliament for the securing of Banbury and Warwick.'

At this critical moment Oxford was without a Vice-Chancellor. Dr. Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College, and Vice-Chancellor in 1641, had been appointed

¹ *Life* (ed. Clark) on which this chapter is largely based.

Bishop of Worcester, and had left the University without formally resigning office. The main burden of organizing the defence fell therefore upon Dr. Robert Pink, Warden of New College and Pro-Vice-Chancellor, who by vote of Convocation was called upon to discharge the duties of the defaulting bishop. Dr. Pink called out the 'scholars and the privileged men of the Universitie', and they brought with them the 'furniture of every College that then had armes'. They were drilled in the quadrangle of New College, to the 'great disturbance of the youth of the city', and especially of the boys at the College School, 'some of whom could never be brought to their books again'. At times the scholar-recruits who 'were promiscuously both graduates and undergraduates, a great many of them Masters of Art, yea divines allso', assembled for drill in 'Newe parkes' where 'they were put into battel arraye and skirmished together in a very decent manner'. Other precautions were taken. Opposite Magdalen 'the high-way was blocked up with longe timber logges to keepe out horsemen'; three or four loads of stones were carried up to Magdalen tower to 'flinge down upon the enemie at their entrance'; a crooked trench was dug in the road from 'Newe parkes' between Wadham and St. John's College gardens; and a strict guard was kept at the several gates. At midnight on Sunday, 28 August, some temporary alarm was created by the arrival of a troop of royalist horse under Sir John Byron, who reached Oxford after a skirmish with some of Lord Brooke's men near Brackley. Byron then assumed command of the

city, but his efforts to put it in a posture of defence were seriously hampered by the townsmen. The latter were already in communication with the parliamentary forces in Buckinghamshire, whose propinquity appears to have somewhat diminished the military ardour of Dr. Pink and his 'schollers'. A special Delegacy, popularly known as *The Councill of Warre*, was appointed to co-operate with the king's troops in organizing the defence of the city, but on rumours of an impending attack from the Parliamentarians it was deemed prudent to send emissaries to Aylesbury, and to hasten the departure of Sir John Byron and his troop. The parliamentary commanders took the protestations of the University at their true value, sent Dr. Pink in custody to London, and on 12 September occupied the city with a considerable force under Colonel Goodwin. Two days later Lord Say and Sele, recently appointed by the Parliament to be Lord Lieutenant of the county, arrived in Oxford and assumed the direction of affairs.

Lord Say's occupation lasted for about a fortnight, but he treated the University with a forbearance which suggests that Parliament did not yet despair of securing its adhesion. The embryo fortifications were demolished, and a rigorous search was instituted for plate and arms. But except for the mutilation of the image of the Virgin and Child over St. Mary's porch, 'the combustion of divers Popish books and pictures', and the smashing of a picture of the king, 'made of alabaster and gilt over', in the Warden's lodgings at New College, little damage was done. A certain Scot, however, is said to

have 'marvayled how the schollers could goe to their bukes for those painted idolatrous wyndows' (in Christ Church). University College and Christ Church, as well as Dr. Fell, the Dean, lost their plate as a punishment for their efforts to conceal it; but to the rest of the colleges it was, with questionable wisdom, restored upon condition 'it should be forthcoming at the parliament's appointment and not employed at the least against the parliament'. Having disarmed the gownsmen and threatened the Heads of Houses 'that unless they could assure him of the peace and quiet of the University for the time to come, he was minded to place a garrison of soldiers here', Lord Say took his departure. All available forces were needed in Warwickshire to stop the king's march on London, and Oxford for the time was quit of the 'russett coates'.

For nearly four years, from October 1642 until June 1646, Oxford was the centre and focus of royalist England. To Oxford all the machinery of government and administration was, as far as possible, transferred. There met the Royalist Parliament—a majority of the House of Lords, a minority of the House of Commons; there Courts sat; there the king dwelt.

Oxford ceased to be a place of learning and was converted into a camp. University routine was suspended; few lectures were given, few exercises were performed, and except for the honorary degrees lavishly conferred upon the nobles and courtiers in the king's train, the register of degrees would be almost a blank for the years 1643 to 1646. We may note, however, that in a

Convocation holden in St. Mary's Church on All Hallows' Day, 1642, Prince Charles, having been created M.A. at Cambridge, was 'incorporated', while the Duke of York was created Master of Arts.

Clarendon throws a lurid light upon the state of the king's councils during these critical years, but it is to Anthony Wood that we turn for a picture of the daily life at Oxford, and a wonderfully vivid picture he paints. The city assumed more and more the aspect of a fortress; the colleges, emptied of scholars, were turned into royal palaces, barracks, and arsenals. The king and the young princes, and the chief members of the staff, were lodged at Christ Church; the queen, after her arrival in July 1643, made Merton her home. Between the two colleges a back-way was specially made 'through one of the canon's gardens, another garden belonging to Corpus Christi College, and then through Merton College grove'. The queen 'was lodged in the Warden's house, occupying at intervals for nearly three years the room still known as "The Queen's Room" and the drawing room adjoining. The king was constantly there, probably finding Merton a pleasant retreat from the bustle of Christ Church'. Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice occupied the Town Clerk's residence, and Culpepper lived in Wood's own house opposite Merton College. Except for a fortnight in the spring of 1645 Oxford was not really besieged until after the king's final departure in 1646; but every preparation for standing a siege had long since been made. Trenches were dug on the north and south of the city, and partially on the

west. The work 'on the north of St. Giles's Church was to be done by the townsmen, and six score and two on their part appointed to work there daily', says Wood, 'till it were done: that work by St. John's College walks was to be done by the county or shire; and that moles in Newe-parkes was to be done by the privileged persons . . . (the colleges sending forth workmen also)'. A deep trench was afterwards dug from the corner of Merton College wall to the Physic Garden, and a 'cut of ground toward the further end of East Bridge by S. Clement was made for the letting in of Charwell river the better to overflow Christ Church mede and Cowley lands about Millham bridge, for the meeting of Charwell and Thames together for defence of the city'. Later on further precautions were taken in consequence of news that the parliamentary forces had advanced from Reading, 'and come stealing along among and under the woods to Nettlebed, and so little by little to Stokenchurch, from whence they got under the covert of the woods to Tame'. The houses in St. Clement's Parish, outside the trenches, were pulled down, and Bartholomew's Grove or *Ulmetum* was cut down all in one day 'for fear lest the enemy drawing near to besiege the town might harbour therein'.

Bells were melted down for the casting of ordnance, and New College cloister and tower were converted into a magazine for arms and gunpowder. 'Whereupon the master of the school there, with his scholars' (among them Anthony himself) 'were removed to the choristers' chamber at the east end of the common hall of the said

Coll. It was then', adds Wood with feeling, 'a dark nasty room and very unfit for such a purpose, which made the scholars often complain, but in vain'. And while 'most of the armes and furniture of artillerie, as bulletts, gunpowder for the ordinance, match, etc., was laide up in Newe College Cloyster and Tower', a gunpowder mill was set up at Osney; drawbridges were manufactured at the Rhetoric School; wheat was stored at the Guildhall; oats and corn at the Law School and Logic School, and military outfits at the Music School. A small army of tailors, 'foreigners as well as townsmen', were engaged to cut out and make up these uniforms 'to the number of four or five thousand'. The lawyers jostled the soldiers. The Court of Chancery, under the presidency of Lord-Keeper Littleton, was held in the New Convocation House at the Schools; the Court of Requests sat under Sir Thomas Ailesbury, one of the Masters in the Natural Philosophy School. The Assizes of Oyer and Terminer were held before the Lord Chief Justice Heath at the Guildhall.

Services appear to have been held regularly in the college chapels, and during the Queen's stay at Merton there were, as Wood remarks, 'divers marriages, christenings and burials in the Chapel'. Sermons were preached regularly at St. Mary's. When the fortunes of war turned against the king an order was issued (28 December 1645) that special forms of prayer should be used in the college chapels 'during these bad times'.

But the bad times were still some way in the future, and though the hearts of sober-minded patriots were

torn with grief at the horrors of civil war, the hopes of the royalists were high; gaiety pervaded the Court; and all was bustle in the city. The movement of troops was incessant. Day by day Anthony Wood records the arrival of this troop, the departure of that. News comes to-day of Newcastle's successes in the north, or of Hopton's victories in the west, and bonfires blaze out in all parts of the city. Next day there is an alarm of the massing of the parliamentary troops near at hand—an impending attack, now from the side of Banbury, now from Wantage, and now from Aylesbury. One day the Spanish ambassador arrives to complain of the seizure of a Spanish ship by Lord Warwick; another day is marked by the arrival of peace envoys from London, a third by that of Commissioners from Scotland. All through this time the temper both of the Oxford townsmen and the inhabitants of the surrounding districts was obviously uncertain. Both were disarmed in the early days of the occupation, the arms of the trained-bands of the county being stored in a chamber in 'Pecwaters Inne' at Christ Church, those of the citizens at the Schools. Nor did the latter display any great assiduity in the work of fortification. Again and again the tasks allotted to the townsmen were unperformed, and the king had to appeal—not in vain—to the University for help.

Particularly was this the case in regard to finance. On 3 January 1643 there arrived at Oxford 'diverse carts, to the number of twelve or more', laden with Prince Rupert's luggage, with the mint from Shrewsbury, and

‘with some good store of silver ore to be melted into silver and coined into money’. The mint was set up in New Inn Hall, and a few days later the king addressed a letter to all the colleges asking for the loan of the College plate.

With this request practically all the colleges complied.

But despite the self-sacrificing loyalty of the University, money was never too plentiful with the king, and there was like to be a shortage of ammunition also. There were not left at this time, in Oxford, says Clarendon, ‘above forty barrels of powder, and match and bullet proportionately’. With provisions, on the contrary, the King was amply supplied. The city, as we have seen, was not really invested, and between Oxford and the ‘girdle of fortresses’ which protected it, there was a considerable stretch of country where agricultural operations might have been carried on in comparative tranquility. Epidemic sickness, it is true, broke out more than once, but the insanitary condition of an overcrowded camp accounted sufficiently for that. An early-closing order was issued in January 1643, to the effect that ‘neither vintner nor any other victualer in Oxford should suffer any wyne or drinke to be sold in his house to anybody after nine of the clocke at night upon payne of forfeiting 10s. *toties quoties*’. Apart from this prudent restriction there was little to interrupt ordinary social intercourse or even to discourage the organization of the special festivities which naturally followed on the arrival of the queen.

Henrietta Maria, whose activity in the collection of

money, arms, and men had been incessant, landed at Bridlington Bay from Holland on 22 February. From Bridlington she went, under Newcastle's escort, to York, and there awaited an opportunity of rejoining the king. For some months the meeting, eagerly longed for, was necessarily deferred. But by the beginning of July the country between York and Oxford was practically clear, and the queen was able to set out for the south. The activity of Rupert's cavalry warded off any possible interruption of her march by Essex, and on 11 July Rupert himself welcomed the queen at Stratford. Two days later the king and queen met at Edgehill. 'The King,' writes Wood, 'with his troops that were here in Oxford with the younge prince and the Duke of Yorke, rode forth to meet the Queene comminge out of the north country and they mett together at Edgehill where the battle was'. On the evening of 14 July the king and queen entered Oxford in State and were received with much University and civic ceremony at Christ Church. From July 1643 to April 1644 the queen made her home at Merton. During those months the social gaieties at Oxford reached their zenith. A vivid description of them will be found in Mr. Shorthouse's romance *John Inglesant*.

It was not, however, all gaiety even at Oxford. During the months between December 1642 and April 1643 negotiations between Oxford and London had been carried on almost without break. A deputation from the City of London arrived at Oxford in January, but if the merchants were anxious for peace they were

singularly maladroit in the methods they took to obtain it. On 1 February they were followed by Commissioners deputed to treat by Parliament. Negotiations proceeded—not too smoothly—until the middle of April when the Parliamentary Commissioners were recalled. Meanwhile Commissioners had arrived on 17 February from Scotland. Baillie laments that their reception was so discourteous: ‘This policie, lyke the rest of our unhappy malcontent’s wisdom extreamlie foolish; for it was verie much for the King’s ends to have given to our Commissioners, farr better words and a more pleasant countenance.’

Yet the king could hardly have been expected, until he was beaten in the field, to listen patiently to demands for the establishment of Presbyterianism. That was far from the case. On the contrary during the ensuing months the war went in his favour. Except for certain seaports the whole of the west was conquered for the King; Bristol surrendered to Prince Rupert at the end of July, and from Mount’s Bay to the Mersey Gloucester was the only important town that resisted obstinately the royalist attack. Newcastle had secured most of the north for the king and only the resistance of Hull prevented the northern army from marching on London. Oxford, meanwhile, was being put into a posture of defence, but had Essex attacked it in earnest, the king, so Clarendon says, would have betaken himself to Newcastle’s army in the north. Essex did take Reading in April, and occupied Thame and Wheatley early in June, but on the 18th Rupert sallied out of

Oxford, beat up Essex's quarters and defeated Hampden at Chalgrove. Hampden was mortally wounded and Essex withdrew to Aylesbury. But though he failed to reach Oxford that summer Essex rendered in the early autumn a not less notable service to his cause. At the beginning of September he marched from London, through Buckingham and north Oxfordshire and thence along the ridge of the Cotswolds from Chipping Norton to Cheltenham, and brought relief to the hard-pressed city of Gloucester.

'The general result of the campaign of 1643 was', says Sir Charles Firth, 'that Oxford was in every way in a better position, its communications with the west and north more secure, its outposts pushed on every side into what had been twelve months earlier Parliamentary territory.' That is true; nevertheless the relief of Gloucester marked the turning of the tide in favour of Parliament. Parliament came to terms with the Scots, accepted the Covenant, and the fruits of the bargain were reaped in the great victory of Cromwell and David Leslie at Marston Moor (2 July 1644). A fortnight later York surrendered. The king's cause in the north was ruined.

Negotiations ensued at Uxbridge, but to no purpose; and the Self-denying Ordinance (April 1645) virtually transferred power from Parliament to Cromwell and his New Model army. A great victory at Naseby (14 June 1645) soon showed what this meant. By the end of October all the west except Cornwall and Devon was cleared of royalists, and early in 1646 the Roundheads

secured those counties as well. The turn of Oxford came next.

We left things going merrily at Oxford in 1643, but the campaign of 1644 opened unfavourably for the king, and thanks to a series of successes small in themselves but cumulatively significant, Parliament was in a position to make a determined attack upon Oxford. Each of the two generals, Essex and Waller, largely reinforced, found himself in command of about 10,000 men. Their orders were to concentrate on Abingdon and having taken that town to surround Oxford. Essex was to march along the valley of the Cherwell, Waller to cross the Isis west of Oxford, and the two forces were then to unite near Woodstock.

Early in May, a proclamation was issued from Oxford ordering the inhabitants of the three counties 'to bring in all their provisions for men and horse to Oxford within five days that they may not assist the enemy now marching'. As to the best means of meeting the attack there was, however, keen dispute at the king's headquarters.

Eventually it was decided to abandon the outlying garrison, and to concentrate the troops in Oxford. Accordingly, the garrison was withdrawn from Reading on 18 May and the works dismantled, and from Abingdon on the 25th. Both towns were promptly occupied by Essex. From Abingdon Essex marched to Littlemore, crossing the river at Sandford Ferry, and thence by Cowley to Islip, which he reached on 29 May. 'In his way', writes Clarendon, 'he made a halt upon

Bullinton Green that the city might take a full view of his army, and he of it'. The Cherwell, however, proved a formidable obstacle. Sir Jacob Astley held the bridges against him at Gosford and Enslow and Tackley until 2 June. Meanwhile, the king himself foiled the repeated attempts of Waller to cross the Isis at Newbridge. But the resistance at both points, though heroic, could not be prolonged. The fall of Oxford was daily expected and rumours reached London that the king had put himself under the protection of Essex.

The rumours, though false, were near truth. On 2 June royalist troops abandoned the passages across the rivers: Waller and Essex were almost in touch: the former at Eynsham, the latter at Bletchington.

The king's position seemed desperate; but he determined to make a bold bid for liberty. At 9 p.m. on the night of 3 June, the king with 2,500 musqueteers and 3,500 horse crept out of Oxford by Port Meadow and Lower Wolvercote: they reached Yarnton at dawn, and thence marching over Handborough bridge (for which he expected to have to fight), reached Handborough Heath by 9 a.m., and then crossing a ridge of the Cotswolds he got to Bourton by midnight, and next day marched by Broadway to Evesham, finally reaching Worcester on the 6th. It was the most perfectly executed manœuvre in the war. Waller caught a few stragglers 'who regarded their drink more than their safety' at Burford; but the king and the main body of his troops escaped.

That famous night march prolonged the war for two

years. The king, after inflicting a severe defeat on Waller at Cropredy bridge (29 June), marched into the west and crushed Essex at Plymouth. All through the summer and autumn there was fighting around the fortified houses with which Oxford was engirdled; they were mostly held, or retaken and revictualled by the royalists, and on 23 November the king, after five months of splendid activity in the field, re-entered Oxford in triumph.

Several weeks were occupied at the beginning of 1645 in negotiations at Uxbridge for peace, but the terms offered to the king were, as Gardiner says, 'insulting', and the inevitable breakdown of negotiations was followed by the Self-denying Ordinance (April). The control of the war passed from Parliament to Cromwell and Fairfax, and the new vigour infused into the conduct of it was surely demonstrated by a succession of victories. On 7 May the king left Oxford and joining Rupert in the Cotswolds marched north. A fortnight later Fairfax appeared at Marston, and was joined by Cromwell at Wytham. From 22 May to 4 June Oxford was invested, but as the siege train had not come up was not actually besieged. The investment, however, compelled the king to abandon his plans for the summer campaign and to hang about the midlands so as to re-victual Oxford. He captured Leicester on 31 May, but on 14 June Fairfax caught him at Naseby and inflicted a crushing defeat on him, and it was with a mere remnant of his defeated army that the king re-entered Oxford on 28 August. But he stayed only two days in

the city; he marched off to relieve Hereford, and that done, attempted the relief of Chester but was foiled by the victory of Colonel Poyntz at Rowton Heath. Early in November he returned to Oxford; but the situation in Oxford was rapidly changing for the worse. The recapture of Bristol (11 September) cut Oxford off from its main source of continental supplies; the surrender of Chester (3 February 1646) cut off supplies from Ireland; Winchester had fallen to Cromwell in October; Hereford surrendered in December, Dartmouth in January, Exeter in April.

Thus Oxford was gradually isolated. The Cavaliers made some successful sallies from the city during the winter and early spring of 1646, but in March of that year the last remnants of the king's armies in the field were scattered, and on 26 April Woodstock House, after being hotly shelled, surrendered to Colonel Rainsborough.

At 3 a.m. on the morning of the 27th the king disguised as a servant rode over Magdalen bridge for the last time and made his way by Dorchester, Henley, and Slough to Hillingdon where he waited for a message from his friends in London. None came; the king turned north to St. Albans, meaning to get to the coast at Lynn and take ship for the Continent, if the answer to his message to the Scots should prove unsatisfactory. By 2 May he was at Uppingham and thence went by Stamford to Southwell, where on 5 May he surrendered himself to the Scots, who two days later set off for the north with their royal captive.

Not until Fairfax was within three days of Oxford had the king resolved on flight. On 1 May Fairfax, fresh from his victories in the west, went into quarters at Garsington and on the 3rd inspected the fortifications of Oxford. 'This', he concluded, 'was no place to be taken by a running pull, but was likely rather to prove a business of time hazard and industry'. On the 11th the garrison of 5,000 was well provisioned for a siege. Fairfax, having closely invested the city, summoned it to surrender, and Sir Thomas Glemham, the governor, and his officers advised the Privy Council that the place was defensible. On the 15th, however, the governor by direction of the Privy Council agreed to treat, and after negotiations had been protracted for more than a month the articles of surrender were on 20 June signed in the Audit House at Christ Church. Twice during three weeks the king, anxious 'to stop the further effusion of blood' and 'respecting the faithful services of all in that city of Oxford which have faithfully served us and hazarded their lives for us', wrote to order the surrender of the city. But it is doubtful whether his letters had any influence on the course of the negotiations. The king's wishes were, however, known in Oxford and were communicated to the Privy Council after the conclusion of the Treaty.

On the 22nd Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice with 300 gentlemen of quality left the city, and on the 24th the general evacuation of the garrison began. The air on that June morning was chill; the skies were black; the rain was falling. Between the files of Roundheads

who lined the route the Cavaliers marched, arms in hand, colours flying, drums beating, down the High Street, and over Magdalen bridge. The Roundheads, perfectly disciplined, offered their enemies no injury or affront. Among the citizens who in crowds witnessed the departure of the Cavaliers there was, no doubt, a conflict of emotions; but scarcely an eye was dry. For the devoted city had fallen: the first Civil War was ended.

X

THE REPUBLIC, THE RESTORATION, AND THE REVOLUTION

CROMWELL AND THE LATER STUARTS

OXFORD had played its part—a great part—in the grim tragedy of the Civil War. The surrender of the garrison practically ended the war; two and a half years were to elapse before the tragedy reached its climax at Whitehall.

The interval was marked by great confusion alike in national affairs and at Oxford. The duel became triangular if not quadrangular. There was no longer a clear issue between King and Parliament, between Catholics, Anglican or Roman, and Puritans. Antagonism between Parliament and the army was hardly less acute than between both and the king, while the Scottish Presbyterians were inclined to play an independent hand. The discussions among his enemies naturally gave hope to the king: by playing off one against the other he thought to extort better terms and thus 'be really King again'. The hope was not wholly illusory, but the game was a hazardous one, and called for a consummate player. Charles proved himself a clever tactician, but of political strategy he had no conception; nor was he ever straightforward in negotiation.

The supreme anxiety of Parliament was to disband the army; the army refused to be disbanded until they

had got their pay and secured the ends for which they had fought. Meanwhile, both parties tried to come to terms with the king, now in the custody of the Scots. Charles greatly simplified the task of the army by refusing the terms offered to him at Newcastle by Parliament. The terms involved the abandonment of the Church to which Charles was devoted. 'How', he wrote to his friends, 'can I keep my innocency . . . how can we expect God's blessing if we relinquish His Church?' Had the king accepted the terms, Cromwell and the army would have been on the horns of a dilemma, compelled either to abandon the 'liberty' for which they had fought, or to confront a combination of Cavaliers, Scots, and Parliament. The king's refusal saved the situation for them. On 3 June 1647 they secured the king's person at Holmby and in July offered him terms at Hampton Court.

That Cromwell was most anxious to make peace with the king is certain. Much as he disliked Episcopacy he was statesman enough to know that Monarchy was an essential element in the Constitution. Nor were the Independents as intolerant of Episcopacy as were the Presbyterians. The Hampton Court Propositions involved no surrender of his personal religious convictions on the part of the king. But the Bishops were deprived of all coercive power, and the wings of the Monarchy were clipped.

The king thought he could do better; fled to the Isle of Wight (11 November), and in December concluded a treaty at Carisbrooke with the Scots. At the same

time he rejected an ultimatum contained in *Four Bills* presented to him by Parliament.

The second Civil War ensued. The Scots' invasion was defeated by Cromwell; scattered risings of royalists were suppressed; the army resolved to bring the King to trial; they excluded the Presbyterian majority from Parliament; the Independent minority surrendered the King to his fate; and on 30 January 1649 Charles was executed at Whitehall.

The Monarchy and the House of Lords were abolished; all power—legislative, executive, and judicial—was concentrated in a single Chamber with no pretence whatever to be representative of the nation. It was in truth, as Cromwell said, the 'horriddest arbitrariness that ever existed on earth'.

England submitted for the time to this arbitrary régime; Ireland and Scotland, refusing to abandon the monarchy, were reduced to submission by Cromwell and his invincible army. The 'crowning mercy' at Worcester (3 September 1651) extinguished the last embers of resistance. The time had arrived for a 'settlement'. The 'Rump', tenacious of power, obstructed it. On 20 April 1653 their obstruction was overcome by the drastic method of expulsion. The 'bauble' was removed. Only the army and its General stood between England and anarchy. The device of a Puritan Convention ('Barebone's Parliament') having failed, Cromwell had perforce to assume supreme power as Protector.

The Protector was anxious to share legislative—though

not executive power—with Parliament; but successive Parliaments, true to English tradition, claimed ‘constituent’ as well as legislative authority. On this rock the two written Constitutions of the Protectorate foundered. Cromwell remained Dictator. But Dictatorships are, of necessity, temporary expedients; a genius for government is apt to skip one, if not several, generations. Cromwell left no successor. The nation, sick of unsettlement, impatient of the rule of the saints enforced by the sword, accepted with virtual unanimity the restoration of the Monarchy in the person of Charles II (1660).

Charles II faced a difficult situation with consummate adroitness: he not merely kept the crown on his own head for a quarter of a century, but, despite the determined opposition of a disaffected aristocracy, handed it on to his brother James II. In three short years James contrived to weld every class and interest in the State (except his Catholic co-religionists) into a temporarily coherent opposition. Churchmen and Nonconformists, Tories and Whigs, county magnates and city corporations—all combined in opposition to the Crown, and William and Mary succeeded to the throne from which their uncle had been virtually expelled. In form James II ‘having violated the original compact between king and people’ was held to have ‘abdicated’, and Parliament thereupon proceeded to fill a ‘vacant’ throne. In fact, James II was deposed in favour of the next undisputed heiress and her husband.

In the period thus rapidly sketched Oxford continued

to furnish a microcosm of national history; in the final scene—the Revolution of 1688—it again played a leading part. To events in Oxford, then, we return.

Oxford was not, as we have seen, actually besieged except for a few weeks before its surrender in June 1646. For nearly four years, however, it had been a garrison town, the king's headquarters, the seat of the king's government, and those who witnessed its transformation during the Great War (1914-18) will, though the circumstances were not parallel, readily recognize the accuracy of Anthony Wood's description of it, after the evacuation of the garrison:

'The colleges were much out of repair by the negligence of soldiers, courtiers, and others who lay in them; a few chambers which were the meanest (in some colleges none at all) being reserved for the use of the scholars. Their treasure and plate was all gone, the books of some libraries embezzled, and the number of scholars few, and most indigent. The halls, wherein, as in some colleges, ale and beer were sold by the penny in their respective butteries, were very ruinous. Further, also, having few or none in them except their respective Principals and families, the chambers in them were, to prevent ruin and injuries of weather, rented out to laicks. In a word, there was scarce the face of an University left, all things being out of order and disturbed.'

After the surrender of the city to Fairfax, Parliament promptly took steps to establish their authority over the University. They issued a suspensory Order forbidding any elections to University or college offices, and sent

down seven Puritan Divines with authority to preach in any of the churches and chapels, and prepare the way for the new régime. Prominent among these preachers were Edward Reynolds and Francis Cheynell. The latter was famous as the fanatical opponent of Chillingworth; the former was one of many who in those days hovered between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. Ordained in the Anglican ministry, Reynolds was a member both of the Westminster Assembly in 1643 and of the Savoy Conference in 1661; he took the Covenant with some hesitation, and was appointed to the Deanery of Christ Church and the Vice-Chancellorship in 1648, but was superseded in favour of John Owen, Cromwell's famous chaplain, in 1651; he was restored and a second time ejected in 1659 for refusing the 'Engagement'—a promise to be faithful to the Commonwealth as established without a king or House of Lords. He conformed after the Restoration, and died Bishop of Norwich. His career is typical of the times, and illustrates the state of things—both at Oxford and in the larger world.

On 1 May 1647 Parliament passed an ordinance for the appointment of a Commission of twenty-four members to visit and reform the University, and duly correct the 'offences, abuses, and disorders especially of late times committed there'. By the same ordinance a joint Committee of Lords and Commons was appointed to receive reports and hear appeals from the University. The Visitors cited the University to appear before them on the ensuing 4 June, between 9 a.m. and 11 a.m., but

the inordinate length of the sermon preached before them at St. Mary's made the Visitors late for their appointment, and sharp at 11 o'clock the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Fell,¹ adjourned Convocation and the two processions met midway between St. Mary's and the Schools. In consequence of this mishap the proceedings were not actually opened until the end of September.

Meanwhile the University, led by Dr. Fell, had organized the most strenuous resistance to Parliament, and ignored the summons of their Visitors. The London Committee, however, compelled Dr. Fell, the Proctors, six Heads of Colleges, and three Canons of Christ Church to appear before them in London, and most of them were sentenced to deprivation of office. The sentence was entirely disregarded in Oxford: 'not a man stirred from his place or removed'. Early in the new year, however, Lord Pembroke, who had resumed the Chancellorship, himself came to Oxford to enforce the will of Parliament. Reynolds superseded Dr. Fell both as Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor, and Sheldon was ejected from All Souls. Still, the orders of the Visitors were generally ignored; and not until troops had been sent for were the evictions carried out. Mrs. Fell refused to quit the Deanery until she was carried out by soldiers 'and her children after her upon boords, as if they were going like so many Pyes to the Oven'. At least half the Heads of Colleges and most of the Canons of Christ Church and the professors were among the four

¹ Samuel Fell, Dean of Christ Church (1638-47), father of the more famous John who was Dean 1660-85.

hundred¹ or so ejected from their offices. About an equal number made submission. Christ Church, New College, and Magdalen furnished the largest proportion of ejections, but St. John's and Corpus were not far behind.

In May 1649 Fairfax and Cromwell paid a State visit to the University and received the D.C.L. degree. They lodged at All Souls and 'after reception', says Wood, 'one of the new Fellows of All Souls College spake a speech to them which, though bad, yet good enough for soldiers'. The generals dined in hall at Magdalen where 'they had good cheer and bad speeches. After dinner they played at Bowls in the College Green'. On the Sunday they heard two sermons at St. Mary's where the preachers 'though rank Presbyterians prayed hard, if not heartily, for the Army and their blessed proceedings'. Cromwell assured the University that the army chiefs 'knew no Commonwealth could flourish without Learning, and that they, whatsoever the world said to the contrary, meant to encourage it, and were so far from subtracting any of their means that they purposed to add more . . . '.

Cromwell meant what he said, and the University did wisely to elect him as Chancellor on the death of Lord Pembroke in 1650. But the actual government of the University fell mainly into the hands of an eminent Puritan divine—John Owen. This remarkable man was the son of a vicar of Stadhampton. He took his degree from Queen's College in 1632, but rather than accept the Laudian statutes left Oxford in 1637. From

¹ This includes scholars and servants.

Anglicanism he passed to Presbyterianism, but, finding the Genevan habit too strait for him, joined the Independents and served as chaplain to Cromwell both in the Irish and Scottish campaigns. In 1651 he was thrust into the deanery of Christ Church, and was appointed Vice-Chancellor by Cromwell in the following year. About the same time Cromwell put the Chancellorship into commission with Owen as First Commissioner. He was elected to the Parliament of 1659 as Burgess for the University, but was unseated on the ground that he was in Holy Orders. Tolerant alike by nature and profession he connived at the public use of the proscribed Liturgy by his Anglican friends in Oxford. Nor did he lack his reward. After the Restoration he was ejected from Christ Church, but Clarendon so highly esteemed his character and attainments that he offered him high preferment if he would conform. Owen, however, preferred principles to place, and having powerful friends at Court was permitted, despite the Conventicle Act, to carry on his preaching.

Owen practically ruled the University for the best part of a decade (1651-9), and on the whole with eminent success. The University was indeed 'visited' by one commission after another, but exhibited its customary ingenuity in devising methods of 'passive resistance'; consequently, the disturbance of academical continuity was less than might have been expected. During the war the few students who remained in Oxford were, according to Anthony Wood, 'much debauched and became idle by their bearing arms and

keeping company with rude soldiers'; but, under the Commonwealth, discipline was restored; Oxford once more became a place of 'religious and useful learning'; the numbers rose rapidly; matriculations numbered 460 in 1658 and the total number of residents is estimated by Montagu Burrows—the greatest modern authority on this period—at 2,500. Even Clarendon was constrained to admit that 'things were less bad under the Commonwealth than might have been expected':

'It might reasonably be concluded that this wild and barbarous depopulation would even extirpate all that learning, religion, and loyalty which had so eminently flourished there; and that the succeeding ill husbandry and unskilful cultivation would have made it fruitful only in ignorance, profanation, atheism and rebellion; but by God's wonderful blessing, the goodness and richness of that soil could not be made barren by all that stupidity and negligence. It choked the weeds and would not suffer the poisonous seeds, which were sown with industry enough, to spring up; but after several tyrannical governments, mutually succeeding each other and with the same malice and perverseness endeavouring to extinguish all good literature and allegiance, it yielded a harvest of extraordinary good and sound knowledge in all parts of learning, and many who were wickedly introduced applied themselves to the study of good learning and the practice of virtue, and had inclination to that duty and obedience they had never been taught; so that when it pleased God to bring King Charles the Second back to his throne he found that university (not to undervalue the other which had nobly likewise rejected the ill infusions which had been

industriously poured into it) abounding in excellent learning and devoted to duty and obedience little inferior to what it was before its desolation; which was a lively instance of God's mercy and purpose, for ever so to provide for his church, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it; which were never opened wider, nor with more malice than in that time.'

The Restoration.

None the less the restoration of Charles II was nowhere hailed with greater enthusiasm than in Oxford. The royalists were, as far as possible, restored to the Headships, and other offices from which, under the Commonwealth, they had been ejected, and quickly reinstated 'all tokens of monarchy that were lately (says Wood) defaced or obscured'. Clarendon was elected Chancellor in 1660 and after his fall (1667) was succeeded by his friend Gilbert Sheldon, who having been restored for a while to the Wardenship of All Souls had been promoted to Canterbury in 1663. Of his munificent benefactions to the University mention has already been made. Soon after the erection of the Sheldonian Theatre (1664-9) Elias Ashmole presented his magnificent collection of antiquities to the University on condition that it was suitably housed. Accordingly, the Ashmolean Museum, the first public museum of antiquities in England, was erected, and in 1683 was opened.

Meanwhile, the miscalled 'Clarendon Code' had been placed upon the statute-book. One clause of the *Act of Uniformity* (1662) was of special significance to Oxford, for it required every University or college

officer formally to subscribe in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor a specified 'Declaration'. The Declaration included a promise of conformity to the revised Liturgy, an abjuration of the Solemn League and Covenant, and an undertaking not to attempt any alteration in the government of Church or State, or on any pretence whatever to take up arms against the King. Thus, for two centuries, the University became a close preserve of the Church of England.

Under Charles II Oxford retained much of the political importance it had enjoyed under his father. The King paid his first visit in September 1663 when, accompanied by the Queen, Lady Castlemaine, and the Duke and Duchess of York, he came over from Cornbury (Lord Clarendon's mansion near Charlbury) and was received in great state by the Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor and other officials of the University and city. This visit lasted nearly a week and was purely ceremonial, but two years later, on account of the plague in London, the seat of government was transferred to Oxford. From September 1665 to February 1666 the students had to make room for the Lords and Commons, the lawyers and courtiers whose 'very nasty and beastly ways' were deplored by Wood. The king lodged at Christ Church, the queen at Merton, where rooms were also assigned to Lady Castlemaine (to whom a son, George, Duke of Northumberland, was born in college), and to Miss Stuart; the Duke and Duchess of Monmouth stayed at Corpus. Parliament signalized its sessions in the Convocation House by passing the Five Mile

Act, one of the most cruel and iniquitous items of the Clarendon Code.

So salubrious (politically) was the climate of Oxford that at the most acute crisis of the reign the king again summoned Parliament to meet there. In 1680 the House of Commons had passed a Bill for the exclusion from the succession of the Duke of York who was 'notoriously known to have been perverted from the Protestant to the Popish Religion'. The Lords rejected the Bill, but the Commons persisted, and refused supplies. The King thereupon dissolved Parliament and summoned a new one to meet at Oxford. So acute was the tension that many of the Whig members came armed, accompanied by armed escorts. The King offered concession even to the point of a Regency under the Prince of Orange. The Whigs would accept nothing short of absolute exclusion. The King was quick to realize their blunder. He dissolved Parliament and sailed into smooth waters for the brief remainder of his earthly voyage.

In July 1683 the University took advantage of the horror evoked by the disclosure of the Rye House Plot to pass a decree against pernicious books and damnable doctrines, specially anathematizing as false, seditious, and impious Hobbes's theory of an original contract and the doctrine that resistance to the king can, under any circumstances, be lawful. This decree was, in 1709, publicly burned by order of the House of Lords, but in the meantime it had done its work. In 1684 Dr. Fell reluctantly obeyed the king's command to remove John Locke from his studentship at Christ Church.

So strong was the royalist reaction in the last years of Charles II that on his death not a voice was raised against the succession of his Papist brother to the throne. False hopes were thus raised in the new King's breast. Greatly encouraged by the Decree of 1683, and by the vigorous assistance given by the University to the suppression of the Monmouth rebellion, James determined to make Oxford the starting-point of his attack on the Church as by law established. There was much to be said in favour of his strategy. Oxford was 'the magazine and arsenal of the Anglican Church'. Could he but capture Oxford he had captured the stronghold of the Reformed Church and prepared the way for the restoration of Roman obedience.

Oxford, however, like England as a whole, was torn between two loyalties now brought unfortunately into conflict: loyalty to the Crown, and loyalty to the Church. With almost incredible unwisdom James precipitated that conflict. Hardly was he seated on the throne when he issued a dispensation to Obadiah Walker, the Master and two of the Fellows of University College, to hold their offices, though they had openly declared themselves to be Roman Catholics and had celebrated the Mass in college 'notwithstanding the laws to the contrary'. In 1686 under similar 'dispensation' James appointed Dr. Massey, a convert to Romanism, Dean of Christ Church, and in the following year issued a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending at one stroke all laws against Roman Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists. The Declaration, proper in

itself, was inspired by a sinister motive, and it entirely failed to conciliate the Nonconformists, who refused to accept religious toleration for themselves at the cost of political liberty to the nation at large.

Almost simultaneously came the famous assault upon the rights and liberties of Magdalen College. Dr. Clerke, President of the college, died on 24 March. The king promptly ordered the Fellows to elect in Clerke's place one Anthony Farmer, a convert to Romanism, who was not merely morally unfit for the office but disqualified by statute, having been a Fellow neither of Magdalen nor of New College. The Fellows refused, and elected one of their own number, Dr. Hough. Cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission the Fellows proved the unfitness of Farmer and were then ordered to elect Dr. Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford. The King himself came over from Woodstock to enforce his orders (3 September). Received in great state he summoned the recalcitrant Fellows to Christ Church. 'Is this your Church of England Loyalty', he asked derisively, and bade them begone: 'Go and admit the Bishop of Oxford' as Head. Still the Fellows refused obedience, and with most of the Demies were expelled. So strong was local feeling that no Oxford locksmith could be found to force the door of the President's lodgings; the king's servants had to be employed to do the distasteful job.

The resistance of Magdalen College to the lawless tyranny of James foreshadowed that of England. It also anticipated the grounds on which resistance was based: Law must in the last resort prevail over Prerogative;

devotion to the Church must, in a conflict of loyalties, outweigh devotion to the Crown.

The 'glorious' Revolution of 1688 was quietly accepted at Oxford, but neither there nor anywhere else did the Dutch Prince evoke any enthusiasm. Not until 1695, after Mary's death, did he visit Oxford, on his way from Woodstock to Windsor. His reception was cool; he declined (for fear of poison it was rumoured) to partake of the banquet prepared for him in the Sheldonian Theatre. The visit lasted less than an hour. Yet despite the tyranny of James II and the insult received from William, Oxford remained devotedly attached to the Crown. Queen Anne was enthusiastically welcomed there in 1702, and in the bitter strife of parties during her reign Oxford consistently espoused the High Tory side. Addison, an orthodox Whig, was a Fellow of Magdalen from 1698 to 1711; but the representative Oxford men of the reign were Francis Atterbury, Dean of Christ Church for one troubled year (1712-13), and Henry Sacheverell, almost the exact contemporary of Addison, and like him a Fellow of Magdalen (1701-13). Sacheverell was described by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, as 'an ignorant and impudent incendiary, the scorn of those who made him their tool'. But Sarah was an alluring termagant and a bitter partisan. Sacheverell was not a man of great learning or sound judgement, but he had a fine presence, was a popular preacher, and his impeachment (1709) went near to endangering the Protestant succession. In sermons preached before the judges at Derby, and before the

Lord Mayor in London—both in 1709—he had violently attacked the ‘glorious Revolution’, inveighed against the principle of toleration and the practice of ‘occasional conformity’, and vehemently maintained the doctrine of absolute non-resistance. The House of Commons voted both sermons scurrilous and seditious libels and proceeded to impeach their author. The impeachment was a grave blunder, and recoiled on the head of the Whigs. Sacheverell, hitherto obscure, became the hero of the High Church party and the idol of the nation. The House of Lords condemned him, but only by sixty-nine votes against fifty-two, and the vote was hailed as a moral victory for the preacher and his doctrines. Almost every town in the country was illuminated in his honour; Oxford received and fêted him royally; wherever he appeared he was acclaimed as a conqueror. Marlborough’s popularity paled before Sacheverell’s; the Whig party was shattered at the polls (1710); the Tories came into office under Harley and Bolingbroke, and but for the *coup d’état* carried out by the Whigs in the last days of the Queen’s reign the son of James II might well have been restored to the throne of his fathers.

The Whig triumph was very narrowly achieved; but it was conclusive. The nation, compelled to choose between the Church and the hereditary Crown, chose, as in 1688, the Church. Oxford acquiesced, but sullenly; and, until the accession of George III, became the Jacobite capital of England.

XI

JACOBITES AND HANOVERIANS

THE WESLEY MOVEMENT

THE eighteenth century has a bad name alike in the history of England and in that of Oxford. It is commonly set down as 'dull'; as a period of intellectual torpor and spiritual decay. But this bad reputation is only partially deserved. What sensible person would not have preferred to live under the prosaic régime of Walpole rather than in the romantic days of Charles I? A Georgian may be less beautiful than a Jacobean house: but it is sufficiently seemly and far more comfortable. And the eighteenth century not only gave us comforts and amenities hitherto unknown, it was a day of great things and great men: the period that brought into the Empire Canada and India; that witnessed the first stages of the Industrial Revolution; that gave birth to the Wesleyan movement; that produced the music of Handel and the great portraits of Sir Joshua Reynolds; the period of Chatham and Burke, of Clive and Warren Hastings, of Dr. Johnson, Adam Smith, and Edward Gibbon, of Telford, Macadam, and Watt. Dull!

If England was dull, Oxford was by general consent not merely dull but scandalous.

'Historians who deal with the academic records of this unlucky era hardly take their subject seriously. They dismiss it in a contemptuous phrase—"Euthanasia of the Eighteenth Century" or the like. . . . They relate its only

too frequent scandals—it has no character to lose . . . Satirists never had a more obvious cockshy. If this period has any useful function it is to serve partly as the drunken helot of academic history . . . and partly as a foil to the storm and stress of the seventeenth and the respectable activities of the later nineteenth century.’

Mr. Godley does not exaggerate. Mr. Fyffe’s description is typical of the modern Radical’s attitude towards an Oxford wallowing in Toryism.

‘It may be doubted’, he writes, ‘whether any so called learned society, professing at the same time to be an educational body, ever sank lower than the University of Oxford in the eighteenth century. . . . The University neither taught, nor maintained discipline, nor examined. The Professors had with rare exceptions ceased to lecture. . . . Among the resident Fellows there was scarce a pretence of learning or the love of it. They were dull, often hard-drinking men who had gained their posts without exertion and held them without profit to themselves or others . . .’

J. R. Green condemned the ‘dull uninterrupted syco-phancy’ of the University in terms even more severe than those employed to denounce its hopeless devotion to Jacobitism. Even Mr. Gladstone, always tender towards his University, writes with unwilling censoriousness: ‘Privilege remained intact; for none would invade the hornets’ nest. Indolence and greed had their unrestricted reign.’

Nor do these moderns lack contemporary justification for the bitterness of their denunciations. Lord Malmesbury, who matriculated in 1763, wrote: ‘The two years

of my life I look back to as the most unprofitably spent were those I spent at Merton.' Gibbon described the Fellows, 'monks of Magdalen', as 'decent easy men who supinely enjoyed the gifts of the Founder . . . from the toil of reading or thinking or writing they had absolved their consciences'. T. J. Hogg in his *Life* of Shelley declared that 'Oxford is a seat in which Learning sits very comfortably as in an easy chair, and sleeps so soundly that no one can wake her'.

How far do the authentic records justify these censures? Much of the evidence, it must be remembered, was tainted. Gibbon was only a boy of fifteen, and both he and Shelley had a grudge against dons who failed to diagnose the symptoms of latent genius. Amherst (*Terrae Filius*), a bitter satirist was, for good reasons, sent down from St. John's. Moreover, Amherst was a Whig, and Oxford under the first two Georges was a hotbed of Toryism not to say Jacobitism. The antiquary Thomas Hearne, to whom Whig and rascal were convertible terms, recounts, with evident gusto, many a riot promoted by his friends. Of 28 May 1715, this 'vitriolic diarist' writes:

'This being the Duke of Brunswick, commonly called King George's birthday, some of the bells were jumbled in Oxford by the care of some of the whiggish fanatical crew; but it was little taken notice of (unless by way of ridicule) by honest people who are for King James iii.'

And of 29 May, 'Restoration Day':

'Last night a good part of the presbyterian meeting house was pulled down . . . the rejoicing this day was so very great

and publick in Oxford, as hath not been known hardly since the restoration. There was not a house next the street but was illuminated. . . In the evening they pulled a good part of the Quaker and Anabaptists meeting houses down. This rejoicing hath caused great consternation at Court.'

So serious indeed had the outbreaks become that in June 1715 the Government deemed it prudent to proclaim martial law and dispatch a force of cavalry to maintain order in the town. Just about the same time George I had purchased the library of Bishop Moore and had presented it to the University of Cambridge. The coincidence suggested two of the most famous epigrams of the eighteenth century. The Oxford epigram by Dr. Trapp ran thus:

The King, beholding with impartial eyes
The wants of both his Universities,
A troop of horse to Oxford sent, for why?
That learned body wanted loyalty;
But books to Cambridge gave, as well discerning
How that right loyal body wanted learning.

Sir William Browne's retort on behalf of Cambridge was both pointed and prompt:

The King to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
For Tories own no argument but force.
With equal care to Cambridge books he sent,
For Whigs allow no force but argument.

Political animosities became so fierce that a Parliamentary statute was actually drafted to suspend the constitution of the University, to provide for the administration of its revenues by a Commission, and to vest the

appointment of its officers, Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, Heads of Colleges, Fellows and Scholars, in the Crown. Fortunately the Bill, thanks to the tact of Archbishop Wake, was dropped.

Oxford Jacobitism survived even the failure of 1745. Officially the University was in J. R. Green's mordant phrase 'sychophantic', and in 1746 presented to George II a loyal address of congratulation on the suppression of 'the most wicked rebellion in favour of a popish pretender'. Nevertheless, at the opening of the Radcliffe Library in that year, Dr. King, Principal of St. Mary Hall, 'the idol of the Jacobites', delivered, 'amidst the greatest applause a violent Jacobite speech', and in February 1748 Jacobite rioting was renewed. The leaders of the riot were prosecuted in the Court of King's Bench, and on conviction were sentenced to two years' imprisonment, to find securities for good behaviour for seven years, and to walk round Westminster Hall immediately with a label affixed to their foreheads denoting their crime and sentence. But though Oxford was (to borrow Wesley's description) 'paved with the skulls of Jacobites', Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Bolingbroke between them effectually destroyed the cult of the Stuarts, and after the accession of George III the fanatical Jacobitism of Atterbury and Ormond and Hearne mellowed in Oxford as in England into the more genial Toryism of Dr. Johnson and Lord North, and later still into the progressive Conservatism of Canning and Peel.

Meanwhile, despite all that has been said about the

dullness and degradation of eighteenth-century Oxford, there was another side to the picture. Benefactors do not lavish their generosity on institutions which are evidently decadent, and benefactors were not lacking to Oxford in this period. Queen Caroline was among those who contributed to the rebuilding of the Queen's College which owes to this period its noble library and the other stately buildings which now adorn the High Street. The new Palladian buildings of Magdalen College were begun in 1733. Christopher Codrington's liberality is commemorated in the great library of All Souls College. Worcester College owes its transformation and refoundation to the much disputed bequest of Sir Thomas Cookes, a Worcestershire baronet, and the discriminating munificence (to which his own college, All Souls, was also largely indebted) of Dr. George Clarke (1661-1736). George I himself established the Regius Professorship of Modern History; the Professorship of Botany was re-endowed in 1728, thanks to the bequest of Dr. William Sherard (1659-1728); the Crewe benefaction provided (*inter alia*) for a Professorship in Experimental Philosophy (1749). The first occupant (1758) of the new Chair of English Law, founded by Dr. Charles Viner, was William Blackstone, the greatest Oxford teacher of the century. Later in the century a Professorship in Anglo-Saxon was founded under the will of Dr. Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755) the famous antiquary, and the name of Dr. George Aldrich of Merton College is commemorated in the Chairs of Chemistry, Medicine, and Anatomy. But the greatest of the Oxford

benefactors of the century was undoubtedly Dr. John Radcliffe who not only endowed his own college (University), but bequeathed funds for the foundation of the Library, the Observatory, and the Infirmary, which commemorate his munificence.

The University Press was also busy: no fewer than two hundred and fifty editions of classical authors being issued therefrom in the first half of the century. Nor were there lacking professors of distinction. Adam Smith, who was a Snell exhibitioner at Balliol in 1743, did, indeed, declare that 'the greater part of the public professors have for these many years, given up altogether even the pretence of teaching'. But Adam Smith was intent on making out a case against educational 'protection'. Teachers, he insisted, would be far more efficient if there was complete 'free trade', and pupils were at liberty to choose their teachers for themselves and pay them by results. Bentham found Blackstone affected and frigid. But undergraduate criticism of their teachers has never been remarkable for leniency, and perhaps even Bentham and Adam Smith took away from Oxford more than they guessed. Anyway, eminent scholars were not wanting. Dr. Humphrey Hody, appointed to the Professorship of Greek in 1698, was still more famous as an Orientalist. Benjamin Kennicott, like Hody an *alumnus* of Wadham, was also a great Hebraist. Bishop Lowth—one of the few men of distinction produced by New College during the first five hundred years of its existence—was Professor of Poetry from 1741 to 1750, and his lectures on Hebrew poetry

are a classic. Thomas Warton the younger, who held the same Chair from 1757 to 1767, also produced a classical work proving him to be much better as critic than as poet, though for the last five years of his life he was Laureate.

Apart from the professoriate there was careful tutorial supervision. 'There is here, Sir,' said Dr. Johnson—speaking of Oxford in 1768—'such a progressive emulation. The students are anxious to appear well to their tutors; the tutors are anxious to have their pupils appear well in the college, the colleges are anxious to have their students appear well in the University, and there are excellent rules of discipline in every college'. Dr. Johnson's testimony is at least as reliable as Gibbon's, nor is there any reason to suppose that Pembroke was exceptional in the supervision of its undergraduates.

There is some evidence also of systematic private study. John Wesley mapped out his time with precision: Mondays and Tuesdays he assigned to Classics; Wednesdays to Logic and Ethics; Thursdays to Hebrew and Arabic; Fridays to Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy; Saturdays to Rhetoric, Poetry, and Composition; while Sundays were rigidly reserved for Divinity. Wesley was no doubt exceptionally methodical; but Joseph Butler owed to Oxford a debt hardly less heavy than Wesley, and like him, repaid it richly.

The Methodist Movement.

We would fain think of these two men, John Wesley and Bishop Butler, perhaps with the addition of Sir William Blackstone, as the most typical products of

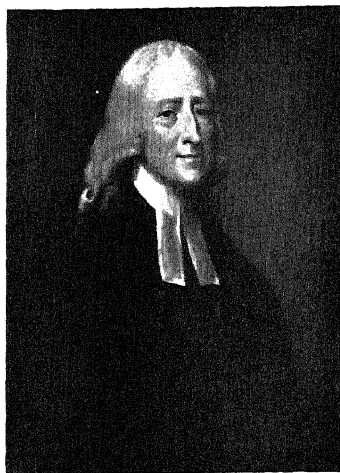
Oxford in the eighteenth century. Mr. Gladstone joins with theirs the names of Chatham and Johnson, Gibbon and Adam Smith. But the latter were not products of Oxford in the same sense or measure as the first three. To Bishop Butler Mr. Gladstone, himself one of the most typical and devoted sons of Oxford, pays a tribute, only slightly if at all less glowing than that which he pays to Archbishop Laud; and if Oxford's pre-eminent glory through the ages has been her contribution to the religious life of England, no names can stand higher on her roll of fame than those of Joseph Butler and John Wesley.

These two men redeemed the England of the eighteenth century: the one from intellectual unbelief; the other from spiritual apathy and moral degradation.

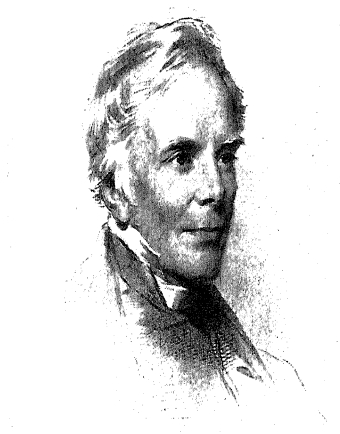
Many circumstances combined to militate during this period against both faith and morals. Lassitude invariably follows upon tension. The seventeenth century was a period of perpetual excitement and excessive strain. The crisis of 1688, with its sequel in 1714, meant a great shock to the higher sensibilities of the best people. Between conflicting loyalties they found it hard to decide. Enthusiasm, accordingly, was damped down; everything in politics, in society, and in religion was brought to the test of common sense. Rationalism reigned supreme in philosophy, and of philosophy religion was a department. 'Christianity in England', writes Mr. Patterson, 'had been reduced to a series of intellectual propositions. . . . It was the aim of Christian apologists to show that Christianity was eminently

reasonable, the Christian life a reasonable service'. The work of these apologists may easily be underrated: they met the fashionable cult of Deism on its own ground, and defeated it. Nor was the period lacking in philanthropic and educational activity. Between 1684 and 1727 no fewer than ninety-six grammar schools were founded in different parts of the country, and in London alone seventy endowed schools were established. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was started in 1696 and that for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1701. William Law's *Call to a Serious Life*—the inspirer of the Methodist movement—was published in 1730, and Butler's *Analogy of Religion* in 1736. Joseph Butler was born in humble circumstances at Wantage in 1692; brought up as a Presbyterian he conformed to the Established Church before his admission to Oriel College, whence he graduated in 1718. Ordained Priest in 1718 he held numerous preferments; he published his great work, as already indicated, in 1736, and two years later was appointed to the see of Bristol. One of his first acts as a Bishop was to request John Wesley to refrain from preaching in his diocese. From Bristol he was translated (1750) to Durham.

Unlike Butler, John Wesley (1703-91) and his younger brother Charles (b. 1707) were brought up as High Churchmen. Their father was the Rector of Epworth, their mother a woman of strong and saintly character. Between the country parsonage and the episcopal palace there was, in the days of the Butlers and the Wesleys, little sympathy and less intercourse.



JOHN WESLEY



KEBLE

The Bishops were princes of the Church, living in ease and luxury, politically Whigs, and in religious opinions latitudinarian. The parish priests were poor, High Churchmen, and Tories with Jacobite sympathies. The gulf between palace and parsonage was further widened by the Bangorian controversy and the suppression of Convocation. Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, was not alone in questioning the fact of the apostolic succession of the English episcopate, and in denying the visible nature of the Church. In 1717 the Lower House of Convocation drew up a report on the doctrines maintained by Hoadly; and invited the Upper House to condemn them. Controversy on both sides waxed bitter, and the King seized the opportunity to 'scatter a little dust over the angry insects' (the words are Hallam's). Convocation was prorogued, and never met again, for the dispatch of business, until 1852.

John Wesley, educated at Charterhouse and Christ Church, was elected to a Fellowship at Lincoln College in 1726, and for two years acted as his father's curate. His younger brother Charles had proceeded in due course from Westminster to a Studentship at Christ Church, and when in 1729 John returned to Oxford he found Charles the centre of a little band of young men who had agreed to help each other to live more strictly in accord with the tenets of their creed and the rules of their Church. They met together to read the Classics and the Greek Testament, fasted regularly, attended weekly celebrations of the Lord's Supper at St. Mary's, visited the sick in the slums of the city, and the prisoners

in the gaol. John Wesley, who from the first was accepted as the leader of the little group, was acting as a college tutor at Lincoln from 1729 to 1735. Charles was ordained in 1735, and the two brothers soon gathered round them a company of young men, High Churchmen like themselves and fired with a like enthusiasm for all things that were lovely and of good report. Modest as was their conduct, and unobtrusive as were their works of charity, they soon attracted notice, and were held up to scorn as 'The Godly Club', the 'Sacramentarians', and finally were branded as the 'Methodists'. The nickname stuck.

In 1735 the Wesleys went out with General Oglethorpe, like themselves an Oxford man, to the colony which he had just founded in Georgia as a refuge for the 'failures' of the old country, and in particular for those who had suffered imprisonment for debt. Wesley's rule of life was too strict and his methods too autocratic for the colonists, and, partly to avoid a libel action brought by a lady to whom he had offered marriage but repelled from the Holy Table, he returned to England, with his brother Charles, in 1737. On the voyage to and from America Wesley came much under the influence of the Moravians and in particular of Peter Böhler. At a meeting in Aldersgate Street (24 May 1738) he 'experienced' conversion. 'I felt', he writes, 'I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death'. 'The conviction', says Mr. Lecky, 'which then flashed upon one of

the most powerful and active intellects in England is the true source of English Methodism'.

A year later George Whitefield a humble servitor of Pembroke College, was ordained priest in the Church of England and joined the Wesleys in a Crusade which for half a century was carried on throughout the length and breadth of England, Wales, and the English Colonies in North America. Intellectually inferior to the Wesleys, Whitefield was, as a preacher, greater even than either of them. But his Theology was of a narrower type, and in 1741 he broke away from the Wesleys and established himself in the Moorfields Tabernacle, and two years later presided at the first great conference of Calvinistic Methodists. The schism thus registered was not healed until 1932. Whitefield died in Massachusetts in 1770, having crossed the Atlantic no fewer than thirteen times and preached at least 18,000 sermons. John Wesley remained to his death, at the age of eighty-seven (1791), in full communion with the Church whose Orders he never abandoned. 'I live and die a member of the Church of England, and no one who regards my judgement or advice will ever separate from it.' None the less were the Wesleys founders of a 'Sect'. The unfortunate 'schism' thus created is commonly attributed not to the Wesleys, but to the narrowness, the stupidity, the lack of vision of the rulers of the Establishment. 'Place Ignatius Loyola at Oxford. He is certain to become the head of a formidable secession. Place John Wesley at Rome. He is certain to be the first General of a new Society devoted to the interests and

honour of the Church.' This oft-quoted passage is characteristic of the facile dogmatism of Macaulay: nevertheless, it contains a large element of truth. The Church of England has repeatedly shown itself slow to make use of loyal but irregular enthusiasm. The Wesleyans with their emotional appeal, their unconventional methods, their field preaching, their astounding activity, and their limitless enthusiasm, were a reproach to slothful pastors and a rock of offence to their respectable flocks. Bishop Butler, as we have seen, chased John Wesley out of his diocese. But it was very reluctantly that Wesley sanctioned lay preaching, open-air services, and unconsecrated chapels. Had he and his brother been welcomed to the pulpits of the churches, as they would be to-day, these things perhaps had never been.

Would England have gained thereby? The world would certainly have lost. The Wesleyans were the Franciscans of the eighteenth century. But the Friars, little as they were loved by the parish priests, went forth to their labours with the blessing of the Papacy. The Wesleyans were driven into schism. Could they have done as great a work for the nation from within the pale of the Establishment? Who can tell? All that the historian can affirm is that, as things were, their work was of immeasurable value, and that England owes them a debt which is literally incalculable.

If England passed through the time of social and economic transformation which we know comprehensively as the 'Industrial Revolution'; if she escaped

the contagion of the doctrines proclaimed, and the blasphemous demonstrations witnessed, in Paris between 1792 and 1795; if England led the world in missionary enterprise, in philanthropic effort and humanitarian legislation; if she induced her neighbours to abolish the slave-trade and taxed herself to emancipate the slaves; if, among all sections of the people, the level of morality was manifestly raised; if there was more toleration for differences in religious beliefs, and a new zeal for education; if Sunday schools multiplied, and societies were started for providing cheap schools for the poor, it must be attributed in so small degree to the Methodist movement and to the impulse which that movement gave to the Evangelical party in the English Church. Until there emanated from Oxford in 1833 another religious movement the Evangelicals were the dominant party in the Established Church. Led by such men as Charles Simeon and the Venns, William Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay, Henry Thornton, John Newton, and James Stephen, that party added a splendid chapter to the history of the English Church. Their intellectual home, however, was not by the Isis but by the Cam.

Oxford, indeed, though she gave birth to the Methodist movement, turned against her own children. Her treatment of Wesley's disciples goes far to justify the scorn poured upon her by the contemporary satirists:—

Where Cranmer died and Ridley bled
Martyrs for truth sincere,
See Cranmer's faith and Ridley's hope
Thrust out, and martyr'd here.

Those lines which appeared in the *London Chronicle* were evoked by the expulsion in 1768 from St. Edmund Hall of six students. Against three of them it was charged that they had been 'bred to trades and were illiterate'; against all that 'they were enemies to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England which appeared either by their preaching or expounding in or frequenting illicit conventicles'. Dr. Johnson, indeed, justified the severity with which they were treated:

'Sir, that expulsion was extremely just and proper. What have they to do at a University who are not willing to be taught, but will presume to teach. Where is religion to be learnt but at an University? Sir, they were examined and found to be mighty ignorant fellows.' *Boswell*: 'But, was it not hard, Sir, to expel them, for I am told they were good beings?' *Johnson*: 'I believe they might be good beings; but they were not fit to be in the University of Oxford. A cow is a very good animal in a field; but we turn her out of a garden.'

Johnson was a master of dialectic, but most people will concur in the verdict of a modern commentator that the 'academic authorities of 1768 were animated by a narrow, exclusive and persecuting temper'.

By this time, however, Oxford was herself again. Conflicting loyalties were reconciled. Unlike William III and the first two Georges, George III was 'a true-born Englishman'. With singleness of heart the University could congratulate His Majesty on the conclusion of the triumphant Peace of 1763. The reconciliation was complete. The Tories, said *Terrae Filius*, were all at

Court, and Oxonians were made bishops. In 1786 the King, Queen, and 'the Royal offspring' visited Oxford. Madame D'Arblay, who was in the party which came over from Nuneham, has preserved a lively account conveying a vivid impression—not peculiar to herself—of the mingled pleasure and pain, the interest and fatigue, which a hurried visit to the colleges of Oxford is apt to entail.

Three years after that visit to Oxford the States-General met in France, and for a quarter of a century the energies of the British nation were concentrated upon the struggle against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. Political reforms, overdue in 1789, were postponed for a generation. Oxford while sharing the national mistrust of Jacobinism, and the prevailing fear of revolution, was less timorous about the introduction of reforms. But the history of the reform movement in Oxford opens a new chapter.

XII

THE ERA OF REFORM

OXFORD AND THE NATION

§ 1. *Political, Social, and Economic Changes.*

THE nineteenth century is pre-eminently the era of reform—parliamentary, industrial, fiscal, and not least educational. Oxford reflected and, to some extent, anticipated the national movement. Neither in Oxford nor in the country at large was the eighteenth century quite so black as it has commonly been painted. But there is no doubt that Learning was at a low ebb: that of good teaching there was lamentably little, either in the University or the colleges; that the range of studies was exceedingly contracted; that discipline was lax, while the examinations for a 'Degree' had degenerated, as much contemporary testimony proves, into a mere farce.

The turn of the century marked in Oxford the turn of the tide. The energies of the country were still concentrated on the struggle against Napoleon. Reform had perforce to be postponed. The impulse to it ultimately came partly from the shock administered to established ideas and institutions by the Revolution in France, partly from philosophical speculations which, though more evidently responsible for political action in France than in England, had their repercussions in this country; but most of all the impulse came from the social and economic upheaval caused by the agricul-

tural and industrial changes in the last decades of the eighteenth century.

Of Oxford during the revolutionary period (1789-1815) the records and *memorabilia* are exceptionally scanty. In 1792 some refugees from France arrived in the city, and the colleges, with their wonted generosity, raised over £1,000 for their relief. On 6 January 1793 Tom Paine was burnt in effigy on Carfax, but that being in vacation was the work not of gownsmen but of townsmen, and the magistrates (writes an annalist) 'in consideration of the right feeling thus roughly displayed wisely connived at the tumultuous and somewhat riotous expression of it'. In 1798 a Volunteer Corps was raised to which the University contributed 500 recruits and the city 250. The Corps was reviewed in the following year by the Duke of York. Nelson received the freedom of the city and an honorary D.C.L. from the University after the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens in 1802, and in June 1814 after the conclusion of the First Treaty of Paris the Prince Regent attended Commemoration, being accompanied by the Czar of Russia, the King of Prussia, the Duke of York, Prince Blücher, Prince Metternich, and other 'foreigners of high distinction'; Blücher was received with particular enthusiasm both in the Sheldonian and at the banquet in Christ Church, when his speech delivered in German was translated by the Prince Regent, 'omitting only (with that exquisite taste which distinguished him) those parts which were complimentary to himself'. Such excitements were during that period rare; but although the number of

students naturally diminished, the French war caused no such complete interruption to the normal life of the University as was the case between 1914 and 1918.

Nor was Oxford so much affected by the economic changes as were most parts of England. Sixty-seven Enclosure Acts were, indeed, passed for Oxfordshire during the years 1760–1800. These enclosures greatly altered the outward aspect of the ‘Oxford country’ which down to that time had been mostly cultivated on the open-field system but was now parcelled out into fields and farms. The University and colleges were also enriched by the increase in rents which enclosures and war prices combined to bring to landlords. Agricultural prosperity did not, however, survive the Peace, and Oxford shared in the prevailing depression. Oxford was also affected, in common with the country at large, by the great improvement in the means of transport and communication which characterized the economic revolution of the period. Stage-coaches between Oxford and London were started as far back as the reign of Charles II. Anthony Wood notes that Monday, 3 May 1669, was ‘the first day on which the flying coach went from Oxon to London in one day’. But down to the later decades of the eighteenth century the high roads were still, as every reader of Arthur Young knows, in a scandalous condition. Oxford shared the advantages of the revolution wrought by Telford and Macadam, and Arthur Young tells of the ‘noble change’ which before the end of the war had been effected. On the eve of the railway era there were 342 miles of turnpike roads

in Oxfordshire. In 1792 the opening of the Grand Junction Canal connected Oxford on the one side with London and on the other with the manufacturing towns of the Midlands. Then came the railways. The Great Western line from London to Bristol started in 1835, but the anxiety of the University about the morals of their students led to the diversion of the line to the west at Didcot: and not until 1844 was the line extended from Didcot to Oxford. The London and North-Western branch from Bletchley was opened in 1851; in 1852 the Great Western was extended to Banbury; the High Wycombe line was opened in 1863.

Thus was Oxford, city and University, connected with the great world. Meanwhile changes were taking place in the relations of the two bodies. From the time of the great riot on St. Scholastica's Day, 1355, the city had been compelled to do penance for the injury inflicted on the scholars, and not until 1825 was the commemoration of the event abandoned. The University then consented to waive the annual appearance of the Mayor and Corporation at St. Mary's, but only in consideration of an oath annually taken by the Mayor to observe and maintain the privileges of the University. Mr. Alderman Grubb, elected Mayor in 1857, refused to take the oath; the University abandoned it, and thus after five hundred years the hatchet was at last buried.

Oxford, like other ancient cities, had in 1835 come under the operation of the Municipal Corporation Reform Act, having for two and a half centuries been

governed under the charter granted by James I. In 1889 the city became a county borough and its boundaries were extended. The population which in 1801 was 10,936 with 1,878 inhabited houses had by 1881 increased to 34,144 with 6,588 houses. These figures excluded the 3,000 resident members of the University. Since 1881, for reasons to be mentioned presently, expansion has been even more rapid.

§ 2. *Academic Reform.*

The University has been much more fundamentally transformed during this period even than the city.

Reform was partly imposed by the action of the State and partly effected from within by a group of Heads who, although for the most part strong Tories in national politics, were ardent reformers in University affairs. Prominent among the University reformers were John Eveleigh and Edward Copleston, successively Provosts of Oriel (1781-1828), John Parsons, Master of Balliol (1798-1819), and Dr. Cyril Jackson, who ruled Christ Church from 1783 to 1809, and left it to his successors (of whom Gaisford, Dean from 1831 to 1855, was the most famous) in a position of pre-eminence among Oxford colleges, unchallenged until the rise of Balliol and the tardy emergence of New College. Eveleigh, Parsons, and Jackson were mainly responsible for the new Examinations Statute, which ended the worst scandals of the eighteenth century, made the Public Examination for the Degree in Arts a reality, and rewarded industry and ability by giving Honours, First

and Second Class, to candidates who distinguished themselves. Many other changes were made by subsequent legislation: classes were further subdivided; new subjects were introduced into the curriculum, and intermediate examinations interposed between 'Smalls' and the Degree Examination; but it was the first steps that counted. Since 1800 an Oxford degree has meant something, and a First Class in Honours, whether gained in Classics or in other subjects, has meant a great deal.

Hardly less important were the changes in college administration, particularly in relation to Scholarships and Fellowships. Oriel took the lead in throwing open its Fellowships, Copleston's election in 1795 inaugurating the most brilliant period in the history of the college. Parsons insisted that college emoluments at Balliol must go to the best men, 'foreigners' or not. But it is remarkable how many of the men who first gave distinction to Oriel were elected from one of the smallest but not least distinguished of Oxford colleges—Corpus Christi. Copleston himself was a Scholar of Corpus, so also were John Keble and Thomas Arnold, both Fellows of Oriel, while among other men who about that time graduated from Corpus were William Scott (Lord Stowell), Chief Justice Abbott (Lord Tenterden), the great geologist, William Buckland, sometime Dean of Westminster, John Taylor Coleridge, Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, and several others who attained high renown in Church and State.

Even New College, the stronghold of privilege and exclusiveness, was persuaded by Warden (afterwards

Bishop) Shuttleworth to abandon in 1834 its right to demand for its Fellows a Degree from the University without examination. The 'privilege' had become, more particularly since 1800, a damaging restriction. But Dr. Shuttleworth's reform was not effected without difficulty. Not until 1862 was the Winchester monopoly in scholarships broken down. Mr. Spooner (afterwards Warden) being the first person elected to an 'open' scholarship.

§ 3. *The Tractarian Movement.*

Oriel, however, was the home of that remarkable movement which so far threw into the shade the earlier Oxford 'movements' as to be distinguished as *The Oxford Movement*. Whether the 'Tractarians' did a greater work for Oxford and for England than the Friars, the Wycliffites, John Colet and his associates, or the Wesleys, must remain to some extent a matter of opinion. But no historian, at once competent and impartial, can doubt that it was pre-eminently influential. Nor was its influence—as we shall see—confined to the ecclesiastical sphere.

The beginning of the movement is commonly said to date from John Keble's sermon on 'National Apostasy' preached before His Majesty's Judges in the University Church on 14 July 1833.

A modern reader will find it difficult to account for the excitement evoked by the sermon (published in *Sermons Academical and Occasional*, 2nd ed., 1848) or the fears which evidently inspired the preacher. Yet the fact remains that honest High Churchmen were greatly

alarmed by recent legislation. Down to the year 1828 Church and State were, in legal theory, but two aspects of one body.

The Test and Corporation Acts, placed on the Statute Book during the Anglican fervour of the Restoration, required every holder of office, civil or military, to take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church. For a hundred years the Acts had been virtually inoperative, but they still galled the pride, if they did not hinder the ambition, of the Protestant Dissenters. In 1828 the Test Acts were repealed, though office holders were still required to promise that they would do nothing 'to injure or subvert the Protestant Established Church'. Although the repeal was the work not of the Ministry but of Parliament, Oxford Tories were shocked that a Ministry headed by the Duke of Wellington and their own Burgess, Sir Robert Peel, should, on a question of such importance, remain in office to give effect to the will of Parliament.

Worse was to come. In 1829 Peel himself proposed the Catholic Emancipation Bill: but he proposed it no longer as Member for the University. Of all Dean Jackson's pupils at Christ Church Peel was the most brilliant. In 1807 he had graduated with a double First (he was the first man to win that distinction), and in 1817 he was preferred as Burgess for the University to George Canning, like himself a brilliant alumnus of Christ Church, and with twenty years' longer experience in politics. For twelve years it had been Peel's pride to represent his University in the House of Commons, but

he well knew how strongly his constituents were opposed to Emancipation. Year by year Convocation had petitioned against it, and in a Convocation holden on 5 February 1829 the University resolved by 156 votes to 48 to renew their petition. It was the last time. In the same Convocation Peel announced by letter his resignation of the seat. Among the spectators of the scene was a young Christ Church undergraduate, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, who wrote to his brother an interesting account of it (Morley's *Life*, i. 83). Peel stood for re-election but, after an exciting contest, was defeated by Sir Robert Inglis by 755 votes to 609. Thirty-six years afterwards Gladstone himself was to meet a similar fate. Among the many distinguished men who thought Peel 'unworthy to represent a religious straightforward and unpolitical body' and thanked God for the 'glorious victory' of Inglis was John Henry Newman. Gladstone's scout shared Newman's opinion, but Pusey, Hawkins, Shuttleworth, and Whately were among Peel's strongest supporters.

Emancipation was carried. The State, then, had ceased to be 'Protestant'. Would it become definitely 'secular', if not actively 'anti-Christian'? With Roman Catholics in office, and Protestant Dissenters admitted in large numbers to the electoral franchise, what might not happen to the Church? The apprehensions aroused among Oxford Churchmen by the Acts of 1828 and 1829 were accentuated by the Reform Act of 1832. Nor were their fears groundless. In 1833 a Bill was carried dealing with the Temporalities of the Church in Ireland.

That Church served not more than one-eighth of the population and enjoyed a wealth vast in relation to the poverty of the country. The Act of 1833 abolished two out of four archbishoprics, and ten of the twenty-two bishoprics; it reduced many clerical incomes; it abolished some sinecures; and appointed a Commission to deal with the surplus revenues of the Establishment. As originally introduced it had appropriated to secular purposes the amount (estimated at £60,000 a year) saved by the reduction of the episcopate; but this clause was amended. Still, the Act was bad enough.

At the moment when the Bill was before the House of Lords, Keble preached his famous sermon on 'National Apostasy'. John Keble was one of the brilliant Oriel group already referred to. Elected to his Fellowship at Oriel in 1811, he was Tutor from 1818 to 1823 and became Professor of Poetry in 1831. Pusey and Newman became Fellows in 1822, and Richard Hurrell Froude in 1826, while Hampden and Thomas Arnold, not less distinguished in the opposite camp, had been elected in 1814 and 1815 respectively. Keble was considered for the Provostship in 1828, but both Newman and Pusey supported Edward Hawkins, who though a High Churchman opposed the Tractarians. He continued as Provost for over half a century (until 1882). Henry Edward Manning, afterwards Cardinal, went up to Balliol in 1826, William George ('Ideal') Ward became a Fellow of Balliol in 1834 and strongly supported the Tractarians, but in 1845 he went over to the Church of Rome.

Keble's denunciation of 'National Apostasy' was immediately evoked by the legislation already described. To him and his friends the State seemed to be dissociating itself from the Church with which it had hitherto been (legally) identified. But the Tractarians, while denouncing this 'apostasy', expressed, rather illogically, their mistrust of the supremacy of the State. They wanted to redeem the Church from its 'subserviency' to the secular authority; they denounced its Erastian character. But in its origin, as Dean Church has pointed out, the Oxford Movement was even more distinctly anti-Roman than anti-Erastian. Ultimately, indeed, it was 'not the Roman Church but the English Church that was put upon its trial'. Many years afterwards an ardent disciple of the Tractarians explained their views thus:

'They attempted nothing less than to develop and place on a firm and imperishable basis what Laud and the Non-Jurors had tried tentatively to do; namely, to vindicate the Church of England from all complicity with foreign Protestantism, to establish her essential identity with the Church of the Apostles and Fathers through the medieval Church, and to place her for the first time since the Reformation in her true position with regard to the Church in the East and the West, as part of the Church Catholic equally with them.'

The methods employed were chiefly preaching and tracts. For more than ten years (1833-45) a band of brilliant writers poured out a series of 'tracts'—some of them little less than treatises. Dr. Newman wrote thirty

of them, and Dr. Pusey almost as many. The tracts, beginning in the autumn of 1833, stated boldly and clearly the 'Catholic' view of the position and doctrine of the Anglican Church: insisted upon its Divine origin; its continuous apostolical government; the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, and the power of the priesthood to bind and loose.

On this restatement of doctrine there followed a development of ritual, the revived use of vestments, more frequent Services, the building of new churches and cathedrals, the restoration and redecoration of old ones; insistence on Church teaching in schools, and so on. The detailed history of the movement must, however, be read elsewhere. Meanwhile a rift developed in the movement. In 1841 Newman published the famous *Tract XC* in which he minimized the Protestant character of the Thirty-nine Articles and maintained that they ought to be interpreted 'in the most Catholic sense they will admit'. This tract evoked a strong protest from Heads of Houses and Tutors in Oxford—A. C. Tait being among the latter—and aroused even stronger feelings outside. Pusey stood by Newman; but in 1843 the latter resigned the vicarage of St. Mary's, and two years later joined the Church of Rome.

Newman's secession was a terrible shock to his friends and for a time greatly damaged in the eyes of most Englishmen the Movement he had hitherto led. But Pusey, while reaffirming the High Anglican position, exerted all his influence against secessions to Rome, and finally succeeded both in restraining most of those who

were inclined to follow Newman, and also in reassuring the moderate Anglicans who dreaded lest the Tractarians would fatally compromise the reformed character of the Established Church.

The Tractarian Movement marked a great turning-point in the history of the English Church at large, and of Oxford in particular. Nor has it lacked material monuments. In Oxford itself the 'New Foundation' of Keble College was built by public subscription, primarily as a memorial to John Keble, but with the further object of 'providing persons desirous of academical education, and willing to live economically, with a College wherein sober living and high culture of the mind may be combined with Christian learning based upon the principles of the Church of England'. Keble College has abundantly fulfilled the purpose of its founders. It has trained for the Christian Ministry a large number of men whose slender means might otherwise have debarred them from a University education, and thanks largely to its first Warden (the Rev. E. S. Talbot, afterwards Bishop of Winchester) it rapidly began to play a full part in the academic, social, and athletic life of the University. Keble College was opened in 1870.

In 1884 a memorial to Dr. Pusey was opened in St. Giles, with the dual object of providing a home for his fine library, and a social and intellectual centre for High Church undergraduates who might feel the lack in their respective colleges of spiritual direction and religious instruction. As a fact, the fears of those who

apprehended that after the abolition of 'Tests' the Oxford colleges would become 'Godless' have happily been falsified. None the less, Pusey House, though devoid of any organic connexion with the University, has provided a convenient centre for young High Churchmen.

But we have anticipated the sequence of events. The Tractarians were not allowed to have it all their own way. In 1836 Lord Melbourne nominated Dr. Hampden, a Fellow of Oriel and a liberal Churchman, to the Regius Professorship of Divinity. This raised a storm in the Anglican camp which was renewed with even greater violence when Lord John Russell appointed Hampden to the bishopric of Hereford (1848). For both offices he was admirably qualified and fully justified the choice of his Whig friends. But the appointments were deeply resented by Oxford High Churchmen, whose hostility to the dominant party in the State was further accentuated by the action taken by Parliament in regard to the ancient Universities.

§ 4. *The State and the Universities.*

That the reformed Parliament, largely representative of middle-class Nonconformity, would long tolerate the existence of Universities, at once wealthy and exclusive, it were fantastic to suppose. Down to the Reformation Oxford had been, in the fullest sense of the word, a *national* institution. When the Church ceased to be coextensive with the nation that character was to some extent lost. But so long as the State retained even the

theoretical identity of Church and State, it was not unnatural that the University should maintain the exclusively Anglican character implicit in the restrictive legislation of Elizabethan and Caroline days. After the passing of the Acts of 1828, 1829, and 1832 the anomaly and indeed the injustice of the situation was, however, increasingly realized. There were now many Nonconformists admitted not merely to the legislature but to the inner councils of the State, to whom the highest education was still obstinately denied. At Cambridge Nonconformists might indeed reside and offer themselves for examination, though they could not proceed to a Degree. At Oxford both matriculation and graduation were subject to a religious test.

Against this state of things there had long been protests. In 1831 Sir William Hamilton, one of the many distinguished Scots who passed from Glasgow to Balliol, contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* a series of trenchant articles which anticipated, in remarkable degree, the reforms actually effected during the next half-century.¹ But while the Nonconformists were clamouring for admission to an institution which they claimed as 'national', Mr. Gladstone consistently maintained the view, agreeable to the great majority of his constituents, that 'the Universities were undoubtedly national institutions, but only in so far as they were connected with the national Church.'

The Whigs thought otherwise, and in 1850 Lord John Russell appointed two Royal Commissions to inquire

¹ The articles were republished (1852) in his *Discussions*.

into the state, discipline, studies, and revenues of the two ancient Universities and their colleges. Mr. Gladstone again protested that 'as matters now stand there is not the shadow or the pretext of a case for inquiry', and opposed the appointment of a Commission on the high ground that 'the habit of self-government is essential to the real health and prosperity of these institutions'. But Mr. Gladstone was overborne, and the Reports of these Commissions (1852) with the resulting legislation of 1854 mark an epoch of first-rate importance.

In the forefront of the *Oxford Report* there was an emphatic assertion of the national character of the University:

'Such an institution cannot be regarded as a mere aggregation of private interests; it is eminently national. It would seem, therefore, to be a matter of public policy that . . . such measures should be taken as may serve to raise its efficiency to the highest point and to diffuse its benefits most widely.'

Many of the resulting reforms were primarily domestic in character, affecting the Constitution and powers of the governing bodies within the University—Convocation, Congregation, and Council; others were intended to facilitate the admission of a poorer class of students by giving permission to undergraduates to reside in licensed lodgings, or even to become members of the University without incurring the expense of joining a college or hall.

This last reform was not effected until later, but owing to the untiring efforts of Mr. William Ewart,

a Christ Church graduate, then M.P. for Dumfries, the *University Education Act* was passed in 1867. Under that Act non-collegiate students were admitted to the Universities. The system has worked well at Oxford. Many men of small means have thus been enabled at a very small cost to obtain many, if not all the advantages of an Oxford education. As regards actual teaching, thanks on the one side to the development of inter-Collegiate lectures, and on the other to the readiness of college tutors to give tutorial help to them, these non-collegiate or 'unattached' students are at no disadvantage as compared with the richer class who find admission to colleges.

The non-collegiate system was only one of seven 'plans for University Extension' submitted by University reformers to the Commissioners of 1852. To others reference will be made presently.

Of still wider significance were the Acts admitting Dissenters to Matriculation and the Bachelor's Degree at Oxford (1854), and, at Cambridge, abolishing the test for all Degrees except those in Divinity. But at both Universities Dissenters were still excluded from all share in the government, and (virtually) from all part in the teaching work alike of the University and of the colleges, as well as from the enjoyment of the more permanent emoluments. Between 1860 and 1870 there was almost continuous agitation for the complete and final abolition of all such restrictions, and on several occasions attempts were made to legislate in this sense. Of such legislation Mr. Gladstone

was the most powerful opponent. 'It was', he declared in 1863, 'a fair and just demand on the part of the Church of England that the governing body in *her* University and *her* Colleges should be composed of *her* members'. But in 1865 Oxford unmuzzled her champion, and as member for Greenwich he carried the sweeping legislation of 1871. The Act of that year abolished all religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge, except in the case of college Headships and clerical Fellowships and of Theological Chairs and Degrees in Divinity. The principles of the Act of 1871 were enlarged still further by the Executive Commissions appointed at Lord Salisbury's instance in 1876. By these Commissions, whose functions extended over several years, the Universities and their colleges, their Degrees, prizes, and endowments, their offices and their government were with very few exceptions opened freely to all creeds and classes.

But just as the Anglicans apprehended danger from the abolition of 'Tests', so also, paradoxical as it may sound, did the Nonconformists. In the colleges, despite legislation, the atmosphere remained predominantly Anglican, and young Nonconformists could not but breathe it. Some of them, in repulsion, repudiated religion altogether; some joined the Church of England; some who remained staunch to the Faith of their fathers felt themselves isolated. To meet this difficulty the Spring Hill College, Birmingham, founded in 1838, under a bequest by Mr. G. S. Mansfield, was in 1889 transferred to Oxford. Intended

primarily as a training-college for Congregationalist Ministers, Mansfield College (as it was appropriately renamed) has welcomed to its doors (though not to its endowments) members of other Nonconformist churches. It has also made a most valuable contribution to Theological teaching in the University, though it is not, save through the personnel of its teachers who have mostly been distinguished graduates of colleges, organically connected with the University. It cannot present students either for matriculation or graduation; its alumni all belong to other Societies, but it does provide them with a social, intellectual, and religious centre.

In like manner Manchester College was in 1889 transferred to Oxford from London where, under Dr. James Martineau, it had been a training-college for Unitarian ministers. Its *status* is precisely parallel with that of Mansfield College; but it is even less exclusively associated with a particular Denomination, and has provided a valuable centre for liberal Theology in Oxford and indeed in England.

The Roman Catholics also now possess their distinctive Halls in Oxford. Down to 1895 the Holy See refused to sanction the education of Roman Catholics at a 'Protestant University'. But in that year the ban was withdrawn, and two Halls have been opened for the reception of Roman Catholic undergraduates. Unlike Mansfield and Manchester Colleges, but like the earliest Halls in Oxford, they are hostels where, under licensed Masters, undergraduates reside, and whence they can matriculate and graduate. Since their foundation the

Roman Catholic Halls have had their full share in academic Honours.

Thus has Oxford recovered its truly national character. Other changes following or consequent upon the action of Parliament must be more briefly summarized. The noteworthy point is that throughout the century (1832-1932) reform in Oxford has kept step with reform in the National Legislature. As the Commission of 1852 followed on the Reform Act of 1832, so Lord Salisbury's Commission of 1877 followed on Disraeli's 'leap in the dark' in 1867, and the Commission of 1922 followed on the far-reaching Reform Act passed in the glow of war-time enthusiasm in 1918. Summarily it may be said that the first Commission virtually disestablished clericalism; the second confirmed the Act of 1871 which dethroned Anglicanism; the third approved the breaking down of the male monopoly. It must not, however, be supposed that in effecting reforms the University has acted entirely or chiefly under external coercion. The most recent action of the State was, for example, largely anticipated by Lord Curzon of Kedleston who in 1907 was elected Chancellor of the University and quickly proved himself to be the most actively reforming Chancellor since Archbishop Laud. In that same year Dr. Charles Gore, then Bishop of Oxford, took advantage of the recent (1905) advent of a Radical Ministry to power, and the increased representation of Socialists in the House of Commons, to move for another Royal Commission. The Government of the day preferred to give Lord Curzon his chance to effect reform from within.

Within two years the indefatigable Chancellor produced his famous 'Scarlet Letter' (*Principles and Methods of University Reform*, 1909) and promptly set to work to push through, under his own direct supervision, the reforms there advocated. A good deal was done, but in 1914 the Great War broke out. In 1918 a new Reform Bill added some 12,000,000 electors, of whom a large majority were women, to the register, and in 1922 the Commission desired by Bishop Gore and his friends was appointed under the chairmanship of Mr. Asquith.

In the changes effected by this and previous Commissions, far reaching as they have been, there has been no real breach with the past. The most fundamental has been the admission of women to the University. This, like other changes, has been gradually accomplished.

Lectures and classes for the higher education of women in Oxford were organized as far back as 1865 when lectures were given by Mark Pattison, then Rector of Lincoln, and others. The Association for the Education of Women was formed in 1878, in which year Lady Margaret Hall was founded as a residential college. Somerville College came into being in 1879, St. Hugh's in 1886, and St. Hilda's (an off-shoot of the great work of Miss Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham) in 1893. But as with the men so also with the women there is a large body of students known as Oxford Home Students who are not attached to any college or hall.

Meanwhile the education of women was beginning to receive recognition from the University; the University instituted examinations for women under the direction

of the Delegates of Local Examinations in 1875, and the first candidates were examined under that scheme in 1877. From 1884 onwards Honour Moderations and the final Honour Schools were one by one gradually opened to them. The process is now complete. Women now virtually enjoy equality with men. Oxford has in this matter gone much beyond Cambridge, having given to women not only complete equality in educational status, but also a share in the government and administration of the University.[19]

Other changes have tended not only to feminize but to democratize the University, and this in several ways. By abolishing the several 'orders' in the Hebdomadal Council, by confining Congregation to Heads and Fellows of Colleges, Teachers and Officials, and by restricting the veto of Convocation (the general body of Masters), the resident University has become more completely master in its own house .

To the University has also been restored supremacy over the colleges; or if 'supremacy' be too strong a word such pre-eminence as the Federal Government of the United States enjoys as against the States. The federal parallel is not exact, but it is the nearest analogy afforded by a political Constitution. From the days of Archbishop Laud down to 1854 the colleges dominated the University. Since 1854, and most markedly since 1922, the University has regained much of its authority. The colleges are now heavily taxed in order to provide for University requirements, for new Professorships, Readerships, and Lectureships, and to increase the

stipends of the older chairs, and for much else. The colleges now contribute about £65,000 a year to University purposes, including Professorships. Half a century ago there were only about 50 *University* teachers; there are now over 160, of whom 70 are full professors. By the development of Boards of Faculties and Boards of Studies the University also controls the organization of teaching hardly less completely than it has always controlled examinations. University functions have now been in an increasing degree attached to college Fellowships, while even in the matter of scholarships the independence of colleges is restricted, though slightly, by an Inter-Collegiate Advisory Committee. College scholarships now carry with them very slender emoluments—amounting generally only to room-rent—except on ‘proof of need’. Thus endowments have been largely restored to the ‘poor’; more than 50 per cent. of undergraduates now (1932) in residence belong to that category. On this subject a good deal of nonsense has been written and talked in the past. From its earliest days Oxford has provided an avenue to high office in Church and State for men of humble birth and scant means. The avenue was to some extent obstructed, though never closed, from the end of the sixteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. It has now become a broad high-way.

Among various by-roads mention should be made of Ruskin College which was established in Oxford in 1899, and has, at very small cost, provided training,



LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON AT HIS INSTALLATION
AS CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY

mostly in Economics and Political Science, for manual workers. It is sustained partly by private subscriptions, but mainly by subscriptions from various Trade Unions, many of whose officials have, for the last thirty years, been trained at the college. Each 'Course' lasts for a year. The college has no official connexion with the University, but individual professors and tutors have freely admitted the students to their lectures, and the University admits them, as it admits other 'non-matriculated' students, to various Examinations for Diplomas (another new development), though not, of course, to Degrees.

In many other ways the University has encouraged the teaching and examination of persons who are not members of the University.

Under the scheme specifically known as *University Extension* it has for nearly half a century been sending forth lecturers and teachers to all parts of England and Wales, founding, as it were, intellectual colonies in some 200 towns. The supervision of the work is committed by the University to a Delegacy which is responsible for the organization of teaching and examinations, and the conduct of the Vacation Courses periodically held in Oxford itself, and for the appointment of lecturers. The latter are, as a rule, men of high academic qualifications but specially selected for their capacity to hold the attention of large and miscellaneous audiences. Among those who have done special service in this field are such men as the Rev. W. Hudson Shaw, Sir Halford Mackinder, Professor E. B. Poulton, the late Dr. P. H. Wicksteed, Dr. F. S. Boas, Sir Charles

Mallet, the present Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. C. G. Lang), Professor Churton Collins, Mr. Horsburgh, and others hardly less known to fame. The teaching given in the local 'centres' corresponds roughly to professorial and tutorial teaching in the University itself. The Extension lectures are as a rule delivered to large audiences; the tutorial classes are rigidly confined to thirty persons. But the two systems largely overlap. The lectures are supplemented by class teaching and written work; the tutorial classes include lectures in their curriculum. This 'extra-mural' work (as it is now designated) has developed rapidly in the last half-century; it is supervised and in part financed by the University, which for that and other purposes now receives a large subvention from the State.

Not until after the Great War did the University seek—not until then would it have been willing to accept—such financial assistance. Post-war conditions encouraged, perhaps compelled, it to do so.

§ 5. *Oxford and the Great War.*

During the War the normal activities of the University were almost entirely suspended. When war was declared the University sprang to arms: Oxford was converted into a camp and a hospital.

By the end of 1917 there were only 315 students in residence of whom thirty were medical students, and about 120 were members of the Officers' Training Corps, waiting for admission to Cadet battalions. The Examination Schools became the Third Southern General

Hospital; Somerville College became a branch hospital; University College also received hospital patients, nurses were housed at Merton, Oriel took in the women students evicted from Somerville, the rest of the colleges were all given up to military purposes, mostly for the training of officers in Cadet battalions. Many thousands of these cadets thus found a home in the colleges, and of the survivors many cherish for the colleges in which they were quartered an affection not less real than that of their regular alumni. Some lines written in the 'leave train' in 1915 by a Christ Church undergraduate touchingly illustrate the love which Oxford inspires in her sons:

City of hopes and golden dreaming,
Set with a crown of tall grey towers,
City of mists that round you streaming
Screens the vision of vanished hours,
All the wisdom of youth far-seeing,
All the things that we meant to do,
Dreams that will never be clothed in being,
Mother, your sons have left with you.

Clad in beauty of dreams begotten,
Strange old city for ever young,
Keep the dreams that we have forgotten,
Keep the songs we have never sung.
So shall we hear your music calling,
So from a land where songs are few,
When the shadows of life are falling,
Mother, your sons come back to you.¹

¹ E. A. M., *Matri Almae*, in *The Oxford Magazine*, 25 Feb. 1916.

Of Oxford graduates and undergraduates no fewer than 14,561 are recorded in the *Oxford University Roll of Service* as having served in the military and naval forces of the Crown during the War. A terribly large proportion of them gave their lives for their country. New College lost most heavily (257); Christ Church 225, Balliol 193, Magdalen 186, University 173, and even a small college like Worcester lost 82; but all suffered heavily.

Apprehensions were general that after the War Oxford would require a long period of convalescence. The event falsified expectations. Hardly was the Armistice signed before the University resumed its full activities: colleges, lecture-rooms, laboratories were before long crowded to excess. In 1920, 4,650 students were in residence—a larger number than Oxford had ever known before.

The University and the colleges were overwhelmed. They were suddenly called upon to provide not only accommodation, but additional teachers, many of them in all manner of unaccustomed subjects. For the War was followed by an immediate demand for the extension of the range of studies; for fresh laboratory accommodation and what not. These demands the University could not meet out of its own resources. Hence the application for assistance from the State. The State, as already indicated, responded generously, but fears were naturally expressed that a State subvention would mean State control. Thus far those fears have proved largely illusory; but the end is not yet. Meanwhile one thing is



THE RT. HON. CECIL JOHN RHODES, HON. D.C.L.

certain; Oxford has become, in every sense of the word, a national institution, open to both sexes, to all classes, and every creed. *Studium Generale* has taken on a new meaning: it is a universal provider of knowledge: all things to all men—and women. There are, of course, many who regret recent developments, but those best able to form an opinion hold that, on balance, changes have been to the good. The human material is as good as it ever was, or better; learning receives more encouragement; teaching is better organized; humane letters, despite the abolition of compulsory Greek, are holding their own, while more opportunity is offered to a greater variety of students than ever before.

§ 6. *Oxford and the Empire.*

Thus has Oxford resumed its historic place as a national institution. Thanks to the splendid vision of a great statesman, a great Empire-builder, and a most loyal son, Oxford has, in these latter days, become not merely national but Imperial in texture and in outlook. The will¹ of Cecil John Rhodes is a great human document. It reveals him as a man of high ideals and broad vision, inspired by a passionate love for his native land, for the Empire he helped to build, and not least for the University and the College in which he was at such pains to graduate. Rhodes matriculated from Oriel in October 1873, but not until 1881 did he complete his terms, many of them kept in the midst of his busy

¹ It is printed in full, with its most illuminating codicil, in an appendix to vol. ii of L. Michell's *Life of Rhodes*.

South African career. In 1899 he received the Hon. D.C.L. Degree amid a tumult only stilled by the presence of the then Duke and Duchess of York.

To public services Rhodes bequeathed the colossal sum, accumulated during a brief life of Spartan simplicity, of £6,000,000. He left £100,000, carefully appropriated to various objects, to Oriel College, and also provided for the foundation of scholarships tenable at Oxford. Of the 160 scholarships, each of £300 a year, tenable for three years, two were allotted to each of the States and Territories of the American Republic, twenty-four to various Provinces and Institutions in South Africa, twenty-one to Australasia, six to Ontario and Quebec, three each to Newfoundland, Jamaica, and the Bermudas. The scholars were to be chosen, partly on the recommendation of their preceptors, partly by the vote of their comrades. In selecting them regard was to be paid not only (i) to their literary and scholastic attainments (which were to 'count' 40 per cent.), but (ii) to their 'fondness for and success in manly sports', (iii) to qualities of 'manhood, truth, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for and protection of the weak, kindliness, unselfishness, and fellowship'; and (iv) to 'moral force of character' and proved instinct for leadership. To each of the three latter qualifications 20 per cent. of 'marks' was to be assigned. To these scholarships Rhodes subsequently added fifteen for Germany, to be awarded personally by the Emperor, in the hope of making a European war 'impossible'. Apart from this high international ideal Rhodes's great object was to

promote a better understanding among the English-speaking peoples, and particularly among those under the English flag. It is worth noting that Rhodes expressed a hope that Oxford would develop a Medical School not inferior to that of Edinburgh, to which some of his scholarships would have been allotted had Edinburgh possessed, like Oxford, a collegiate system; for to the College system Rhodes attached the highest importance. His own scholars were to be distributed among the colleges, not to form a coterie of their own in any one college. There has been lately built at Oxford a stately centre for the Rhodes Scholars, together with a residence for the local Secretary of the Trustees and a fine library and hall. The Rhodes House is the *locale* of the annual dinner which Rhodes insisted should be given to his scholars, and provides for them a social centre; but it is not permitted to obstruct the fulfilment of Rhodes's wishes and ideals. One great hope was, however, frustrated by the War; on its outbreak the German scholarships were necessarily suspended; but the Trustees have now, with a generosity characteristic of the founder, resumed the election of German scholars, and it is fervently hoped that in that, as in all other respects, his ideal will be attained. As regards the English-speaking scholars Rhodes's anticipation has already been more than fulfilled. His scholars have won credit for themselves, alike in the schools, on the river, and on the playing fields, and have, by general consent, contributed to the University a strain of the highest value.[20]

'Will not', Lord Rosebery once asked, 'the name of Cecil John Rhodes be chiefly renowned as having summoned from all parts of the world, from two great Empires, from the mightiest Republic that has ever existed, an affluence of new scholars ready to worship at the shrine of this ancient university, to imbibe its august traditions, and to take back to their homes and to their communities a message of peace, civilization, and good will.' 'I do not know', he added, 'what other methods may be taken to perpetuate the memory of Mr. Rhodes in this country or in South Africa, but sure I am of this, that in this ancient university his surest and noblest monument will be the career, the merits, and the reputation of the scholars whom he has summoned within these walls.'¹

Lord Rosebery was right. Some seventy years ago Oxford was denounced by John Bright as the 'home of dead languages and undying prejudices'. John Bright knew very little about Oxford, but one who knew her well and loved her dearly could describe her as 'the home of lost causes and forsaken beliefs, and unpopular names and impossible loyalties'. But Matthew Arnold, with all his devotion to 'the adorable dreamer whispering from her towers the last enchantments of the Middle Ages', was a typical representative of an era of pessimism. Deprecating the present and mistrustful of the future, he looked not overfondly but too exclusively to the past.

Cecil Rhodes, with the more robust faith inspired by a wider outlook upon Greater Britain, looked not unhopelessly to the future, and did all that in him lay to mould it

¹ Speech at unveiling of the Rhodes Memorial Tablet in the New Examination Schools on 12 June 1907.

after a splendid pattern. An ardent believer in the imperial mission of Great Britain he looked to his old University to become the nursing mother of an imperial race. To the mother he loved so well he brings by his munificence the chosen sons of the sister and daughter lands. He brings them in the hope and belief that these imperial scholars of an imperial University will carry back to the distant lands whence they come something of the spirit of which Oxford, ancient but ever young, still holds the secret.

That spirit none has caught more exactly, none has interpreted more faithfully, than that loyal and highly gifted son, the Laureate so lately lost, who left his *Testament of Beauty* as a noble legacy to Oxford and to the world.

.

Praise her, the mother of celestial moods,
Who o'er the saints' inviolate array
Hath starr'd her robe of fair beatitudes
With jewels worn by Hellas, on the day
She grew from girlhood into wisdom gay;
And hath laid by her crozier, ever more
With both hands gathering to enrich her store,
And make her courts with music ring away.

Love her, for that the world is in her heart,
Man's rude antiquity and doubtful goal,
The heaven-enthralling luxury of art,
The burden'd pleading of his clay-bound soul,
The mutual office of delight and dole,
The merry laugh of youth, the joy of life
Older than thought, and the unamending strife
'Twixt liberty and politic control.

There is none holier, not the lilyed town
By Arno, whither the spirit of Athens fled,
Escap't from Hades to a less renown,
Yet joyful to be risen from the dead;
Nor she whose wide imperious arms were spread
To spoil mankind, until the avenger came
In darkening storm, and left a ruin'd name,
A triple crown upon a vanquish't head.

.

'Farewell! for whether we be young or old,
Thou dost remain, but we shall pass away;
Time shall against himself thy house uphold,
And build thy sanctuary from decay;
Children unborn shall be thy pride and stay.
May Earth protect thee, and thy sons be true,
And God with heavenly food thy life renew,
Thy pleasure and thy grace from day to day.' ¹

¹ *Invitation to the Oxford Historical Pageant* (1907).

APPENDIX A

NOTES

[1] (*page 1*). This local etymological superstition is too picturesque to be abandoned, but in fact, 'Wolvercote' is derived from the *Ulfgarcote* of Domesday (i.e. the cottage of Ulfgar or Wolfgar). Cf. Alexander, *The Place Names of Oxfordshire*, pp. 223-4.

[2] (*page 2*). Oseney was not actually raised to the rank of an abbey until about 1154. St. Frideswide's remained a Priory. Rewley Abbey was founded in 1280.

[3] (*page 12*). Modern critics assign this 'Mound' to Robert D'Oily (cf. Gretton, *The Ancient Remains of Oxford Castle*, pp. 4-5). Mr. Hamilton Thompson (*Military Architecture in England*, pp. 28-34) emphasizes the distinction between the stockaded *burhs* of Saxon times and the fortified *mounds* of the early Norman period.

[4] (*page 14*). The whole story of this massacre is questioned by modern critics, who find in it a suspicious resemblance to the account of the murders of Sigefrith and Morcar in 1015 (cf. Larson, *Canute*, p. 70). The only authority for the accepted story would appear to be a forged St. Frideswide charter of 1104.

[5] (*page 19*). The Gild Merchants may be of earlier origin—even before the Conquest (cf. H. E. Salter, *ap. History*, vol. xiv, p. 104).

[6] (*page 24*). J. Parker affirms that the Arthurian legend dates at least from the fifteenth century, and also questions the complicity of the Fellows of University College in the Alfredian legend (cf. *History of Oxfordshire*, pp. 38, and 42-3). But these precise antiquarians cannot be allowed to spoil all the good stories!

[7] (*page 24*). Some recent critics (e.g. Louis Halphen, *Revue Historique*, vol. clxvii) question the use of the terms 'University' and 'Studium Generale' so early as the twelfth century.

[8] (*page 25*). H. E. Salter (*History*, vol. xiv, p. 57) declares that 'there is really no evidence' for the theory of a migration.

[9] (*page 29*). This view as to the origin of the Academical Halls is now questioned by A. B. Emden whose work *An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times* (Clarendon Press, 1927) represents the last and most authoritative word on the subject (cf. pp. 19 seq.).

[10] (*page 33*). The King's permission had been granted in 1231 (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, Henry III, 1227-31, p. 586).

[11] (*page 35*). There are various versions of this legend. One represents the command to St. Francis as having been given when he was praying in the ruined chapel of St. Damian.

[12] (*page 52*). Many facts connected with Wyclif's life are still obscure: for details cf. the article by Dr. Rashdall in *D.N.B.*, and Workman, *John Wyclif*.

[13] (*page 57*). Dr. Tait (*op. D.N.B.*) refuses to credit Wykeham with the architectural achievements commonly attributed to him; but he cannot expect a Wykehamist to agree with him, even were his evidence much stronger than it appears to me to be.

[14] (*page 63*). I have here used the term *matriculation* in a non-technical sense; for as Mr. Emden has pointed out: the ordinance of 1420 did not *institute matriculation*, that is, the entry of the names of all scholars and other persons claiming University privileges in a register; that was done by the statute of 1564/5. The ordinance of 1420 required that all scholars should take an oath to observe the University statutes within a month of their first arrival in Oxford and that they should reside in halls under the supervision of principals.

[15] (*page 79*). The Rev. H. E. Salter has expressed the opinion that on the available evidence it is very unlikely that the scholars of Brasenose Hall migrated to Stamford and consequently that the knocker preserved at B.N.C. had

any connexion with Brasenose Hall in Oxford. See *Snappe's Formulary*, ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S.), pp. 293-4.

[16] (*page* 80). There seems to be some doubt whether this hall was ever actually established; it is certain that Foxe contemplated its establishment.

[17] (*page* 82). Wolsey became King's Chaplain in the same year (1507).

[18] (*page* 91). If, as antiquarians assure us, this house only dates from 1628, its association with Bishop King must be regarded as legendary.

[19] (*page* 1852). There are now (1932) 1010 women undergraduates of whom 724 are members of Colleges or Halls.

[20] (*page* 193). Since 1903 some 1,500 Rhodes Scholars have passed through Oxford.

APPENDIX B

Short List of Books

THERE are innumerable books on Oxford, and the following list contains only a small selection, which may be of some help to readers and will also serve to acknowledge the main sources of information to which I am indebted.

Among the smaller books the following may be found useful: C. W. Boase, *Oxford* (Historic Towns); Hon. G. C. Brodrick, *University of Oxford* (Epochs of Church History); J. Wells, *Oxford and its Colleges* and *Oxford and Oxford Life*; F. Madan, *Oxford Outside the Guide Books*; A. Clark, *A Bodleian Guide*; J. Wells, *The Oxford Degree Ceremony*; Goldwin Smith, *Oxford and its Colleges*.

Among the larger works three stand out pre-eminent: Sir C. E. Mallet, *History of the University of Oxford*, 3 vols.; Ingram, *Memorials of Oxford* (1837); and H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (2 vols.).

Many of the publications of the Oxford Historical Society are also invaluable. Special reference may be made to: Parker, *Early History*; Hurst, *Topography*; Little, *Grey Friars*; Magrath, *Flemings in Oxford*; Wigram, *Cartulary of St. Frideswide*; *Hearne's Collections*; *Anthony Wood's Life* (ed. Clark); Brodrick, *Memorials of Merton*; Fowler, *History of C.C.C.*; Bloxam, *Magdalen College and James II*; and *Collectanea*, vols. i (ed. Fletcher) and ii and iii (ed. Burrows).

Other books useful for special periods or special subjects are: F. Madan, *Manuscript Materials relating to the University of Oxford*; Alexander, *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire*; R. H. Gretton, *The Ancient Remains of Oxford Castle*; A. B. Emden, *An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times*; G. H. Moberly, *William of Wykeham*; H. B. Workman, *John Wyclif*; F. Seebohm,

Oxford Reformers; J. H. Lupton, *Life of John Colet* (and (ed.) Colet's *Oxford Lectures* (3 vols.)); J. A. R. Marriott, *Life of Falkland*; W. H. Hutton, *Life of Laud*; J. H. Shorthouse, *John Inglesant*; F. J. Varley, *The Siege of Oxford*; H. L. Thompson, *St. Mary the Virgin; Oxford, in its relation to English History*; J. R. Green, *Oxford Studies*; A. D. Godley, *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century*; *The Colleges of Oxford* (ed. Clark); *College Histories*, by various writers (pub. Robinson); Jackson, *St. Mary the Virgin*; Maxwell Lyte, *History of Oxford University* (only to the Reformation); W. D. Macray, *Memorials of the Bodleian*; Mozley, *Reminiscences*; Church, *Oxford Movement*; G. P. S. Clarke, *The Oxford Movement and After*; Lewis Campbell, *Nationalization of the Old Universities*; R. T. Günther, *The Oxford Country*; Seccombe and Scott, *In Praise of Oxford* (a useful anthology); Mark Pattison, *Memoirs*; *Endowment of Research* (Essays 1876); P. Gardner, *Oxford at the Cross Roads*; Mackinder and Sadler, *University Extension*; W. H. Draper, *Fifty Years of University Extension*; *The Oxford University Press 1468-1926*; E. S. Craig (ed.), *Oxford University Roll of Service*; *Reports of University Commissions*, especially that of 1850; Lord Curzon of Kedleston, *University Reform* (1909); Lord Zetland, *Life of Lord Curzon*; and Biographies of other famous Oxford men too numerous to mention.

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